ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

285.942
H77p
v.1
1803486

BASEMENT STORAGE

REFERENCE

ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

193

# THE PURITANS:

OR

## THE CHURCH, COURT, AND PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND,

DURING THE REIGNS OF

## EDWARD VI. AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.

BY

SAMUEL HOPKINS.

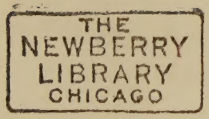
"The Liberties of our House it behooveth us to leave to our Posterities in the same freedom we have received them."

*Committee of the Puritan Commons to the Lords*, 1575-6.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

V, 1




BOSTON:
GOULD AND LINCOLN,
59 WASHINGTON STREET.
NEW YORK: SHELDON AND COMPANY.
CINCINNATI: GEORGE S. BLANCHARD.
1860.

1803.86

D 672.41

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1859, by
SAMUEL HOPKINS,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

6175
2c
B+0876

University Press, Cambridge:
Electrotyped and Printed by Welch, Bigelow, and Company.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1888, by
BAZILEE HOPKINS,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

University Press, Cambridge:
Electrotyped and Printed by Welch, Bigelow, and Company.

# PREFATORY NOTE.

To facilitate inquiries which may be raised respecting any statements in the following volumes, I specify the particular editions of the most important works to which I have referred as my authorities.

The few who have ventured upon this wilderness of documents will appreciate the difficulties of my task, and will make due allowance for incidental errors into which I may have fallen.

S. H.

NORTHAMPTON (Mass.), 1859.

---


Blackstone's Commentaries. Wendell's edition. New York, 1854.

Birch, Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1754.

Brook, Lives of the Puritans. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1813.

Butler, Memoirs of English Catholics. 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1822.

Camden, "Reign of Elizabeth." Folio. London, 1675.

Cabala, The. Folio. London, 1691.

Carte, History of England. 4 vols. Folio. London, 1747, 1750, 1752, 1755.

Challoner, Memoirs of Missionary Priests. 8vo. Manchester (Eng.), 1803.

Coke, Sir Edward. Reports. Savoy edition, 1738.

Collier, Church History. 9 vols. 8vo. London, 1840.

Coverdale, Memorials of. Bagster's edition. London, 1838.

D'Aubigne, History of the Reformation. 5 vols. 12mo. New York, 1853.

D'Ewes, Journals of Parliament. Folio. London, 1682.

Digges, Complete Ambassador. Folio. London, 1655.

D'Israeli, Curiosities of Literature. Philadelphia, 1838.

Echard, History of England. Folio. London, 1707.

Ellis, Collection of Letters. London, 1824–1827.

Forbes, State Papers. London, 1740.

Fox, Acts and Monuments. 3 vols. Folio. London, 1641.

Fragmenta Regalia. By Sir Robert Naunton, in the "Phœnix."

Fuller, Worthies. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1840.

" Church History. Folio. London, 1655.

" Abel Redivivus. London, 1652.

" Holy State. Folio. Cambridge (Eng.), 1642.

Hallam, Constitutional History of England. New York, 1851.

Hanbury, Memorials. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1839.

Hardwicke, State Papers. 3 vols. 4to. London, 1778.

Hargrave, State Trials. 9 vols. Folio. London, 1776–1778.

Harleian Miscellanies. 9 vols. 4to. London, 1774.

Harrington, Nugæ Antiquæ. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1804.

Hatton, Sir Christopher, Life and Times of. By Sir Harris Nicholas. 8vo. London, 1847.

Haynes, State Papers. Folio. London. 1740.

Hayward, Sir John, Annals of Elizabeth. Camden Society's edition. London, 1840.

Heylin, History of the Reformation. Folio.

" History of the Presbyterians. Folio. London, 1672.

Holingshed, Chronicles. 4 vols. 4to. London, 1808.

Howell, State Trials. 21 vols. 8vo. London, 1816.

Hume, History of England. 4 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1821.

Lingard, History of England. 13 vols. 12mo. Boston, 1855.

Lloyd, State Worthies. 12mo. London, 1670.

Lodge, Illustrations of British History. 3 vols. 4to. London, 1791.

Mackay Charles, "Memoirs of Popular Delusions." London, 1852.

McCrie, Life of Knox. Philadelphia, edition of the Presbyterian Board of Publication. No date.

Melvill, Sir James, Memoirs. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1735.

Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History. 6 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1798.

Murdin, State Papers. Folio. London, 1759.

Neal, History of the Puritans. 2 vols. 8vo. New York, 1844.

Osborne, Traditional Memorials of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James. Edinburgh, 1811.

Paule, Sir George, Life of Whitgift. 4to. London, 1613.

Peck, Desiderata Curiosa. London, 1732.

Persons, The Jesuit's Memorial. Edited by Edward Gee.

Pierce, Vindication. 12mo. London, 1718.

Rapin, History of England.

Sidney, State Papers. (Collins's Collection.) Folio. London, 1746.

Sparrow's Collections. London, 1684.

Statutes of the Realm. Tomlin's edition. London, 1819.

Stow, Annals. Howe's Continuation. Folio. London, 1631.

" Survey of London. 4to. 1618.

Strype, Annals. 7 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1824.

" Memorials. 6 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1822.

" Life of Cranmer. Folio. London, 1695.

" Life of Parker. Folio. London, 1740.

" Life of Grindal. Folio. London, 1710.

" Life of Aylmer. 12mo. London, 1701.

" Life of Whitgift. Folio. London, 1718.

" Life of Sir Thomas Smith. 12mo. London, 1698.

Taylor, William Cook, "Romantic Biography of the Age of Elizabeth." Philadelphia, 1842.

The Phœnix. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1707, 1708.

The Troubles at Frankfort. 8vo. London, 1846.

Warner, Ecclesiastical History. 2 vols. Folio. London, 1759.

Wotton's Reliquiæ. London, 1685.

Wood, Athenæ Oxoniensis. 4 vols. 4to. London, 1815.

Wright, Queen Elizabeth and her Times. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1838.

Zurich Letters. By the Parker Society. Second *Edition*, in distinction from Second *Series*.

# CONTENTS.


## CHAPTER I.

EDWARD THE SIXTH. (A. D. 1549.)

The Young King. — The Lord Protector. — The Insurrections. — The New Preacher. . . . . 1

## CHAPTER II.

THE REFORMATION. (A. D. 1350–1550.)

Its Origin. — The Statute of Præmunire. — The Separation of the English Church. — The Supremacy. — "The Six Articles." — The Accession of Edward VI. — Church Reform. — Innovation disliked. 14

## CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST PURITAN. (A. D. 1550, 1551.)

Hooper appointed Bishop. — Objects to the Mode of Consecration. — Summoned before the Council. — Objects to the Oath of Supremacy. — His Objection allowed. — Objects to the Episcopal Garments. — Archbishop Cranmer. — The Question of the Garments discussed. — Hooper's Objection disallowed by the Bishops. — The Controversy is extended. — Hooper restrained from Preaching. — Is confined to his House. — Is committed to Cranmer's Custody. — Is sent to Prison. — Plots against his Life. — The Difference compromised. — Hooper consecrated. — Hooper in his Bishopric, and in his Family. . . . . 28

## CHAPTER IV.

THE MARIAN EXILES. (A. D. 1554.)

The Hanse Towns. — Exiles arrive at Frankfort. — Their kind Reception. — Character and Death of Edward VI. — Further Reform

DURING HIS REIGN. — VALERAN POLAN AND WHITTINGHAM. — ESCAPE OF THE PARTY FROM ENGLAND. — VALERAN OFFERS HIS SERVICES. — A PLACE OF WORSHIP SECURED TO THE STRANGERS. — THE LUTHERANS ABHOR THE ENGLISH. — CALVINISTS WELCOME THEM. — CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE EXILES. — THEY WRITE TO THEIR FELLOW-EXILES. — JOHN KNOX. — LOWERING CLOUDS. — DEPUTATION FROM STRASBURG. — GRINDAL AND KNOX DISCUSS KING EDWARD'S BOOK. . . . . 56

## CHAPTER V.

### THE TROUBLES AT FRANKFORT. (A. D. 1554, 1555.)

CALVIN ON THE ENGLISH BOOK. — ADVISES MUTUAL YIELDING. — STRIFES. — AGREEMENT. — DR. COX ARRIVES. — DISTURBS THE WORSHIP. — THE PULPIT USURPED, AND THE CONGREGATION TAUNTED. — KNOX REBUKES THE PROCEEDING, AND JUSTIFIES HIMSELF. — COX AND HIS PARTY ADMITTED TO VOTE. — THEY ADOPT THE ENGLISH BOOK. — THE MAGISTRATES ENFORCE THE FRENCH ORDER. — KNOX CHARGED WITH TREASON. — HE IS ADVISED TO LEAVE. — HIS DEPARTURE. — THE ENGLISH LITURGY BROUGHT IN BY ARTIFICE. — THE ORIGINAL CONGREGATION DISPERSE TO OTHER CITIES. . . . . 88

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE ACCESSION, AND FIRST PARLIAMENT, OF ELIZABETH. (A.D. 1558, 1559.)

THE DEATH OF MARY. — ELIZABETH PROCLAIMED. — HER ADDRESS TO THE COUNCIL. — HER FIRST CABINET. — HER PERSON. — HER PUBLIC COURTESIES. — THE FUNERAL SERMON. — INDICATIONS OF A CHANGE OF RELIGION. — PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLE. — THE LORD KEEPER'S SPEECH. — SPEAKER OF THE COMMONS ELECTED; "DISABLED"; "ALLOWED." — POSITION OF THE CROWN. — THE COMMONS PETITION THE QUEEN TO MARRY. — HER ANSWER. — THE ACT OF SUPREMACY. — THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY. . 116

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE REFORMATION RESTORED. (A. D. 1559.

THE SUPREMACY. — PROTESTANT WORSHIP REVIVED. — COMMISSIONERS EMPOWERED. — BISHOPS DEPOSED. — OLD THEATRICALS. — BARTHOLOMEW'S FAIR. — THE PURGING OF THE CHURCHES. — THE NIGHT FESTIVAL. — THE COURTIER IN HIS CHAMBER. . . . . 148

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE ESTABLISHMENT. (A. D. 1559.)

PAUL'S CROSS. — FATHER COVERDALE. — DAVID WHITEHEAD. — SUNDAY TRAFFIC. — THE CHANGES IN THE LITURGY. — SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS. — ROBERT, LORD DUDLEY. — THE QUEEN'S TENDERNESS FOR PAPACY. — HER REASONS FOR IT. — HER DISLIKE OF THE FRANKFORT EXILES, HOW EXCITED. — "SEMPER EADEM." — THE DISLIKE OF THE VESTMENTS, AND OF THE SUPREMACY. — THE POSITION OF KNOLLYS AND DUDLEY. — THE NEW HIERARCHY. — THE "OLD PRIESTS." — SCARCITY OF CLERGY. . . 168

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE KNOUT. (A. D. 1563-1566.)

THE ORNAMENTS OF RELIGION DISLIKED. — THE PLAGUE IN LONDON. — GRINDAL, BISHOP OF LONDON, OFFERS A BISHOPRIC TO COVERDALE. PROCURES FOR HIM THE LIVING OF ST. MAGNUS. — NON-CONFORMITY. — THE QUEEN ORDERS IT TO BE CORRECTED. — THE BOOK OF ADVERTISEMENTS. — DISSENTERS CALLED PURITANS. — THE BOOK OF ADVERTISEMENTS CONFIRMED. — UNIFORMITY PRESSED. — JOHN FOX. — CLERGY SUSPENDED. . 205

## CHAPTER X.

### THE EARL OF LEICESTER. (A. D. 1566.)

LEICESTER'S POSITION AT COURT. — HIS WIFE MURDERED. — HIS "RELIGIOUS STYLE OR PHRASE" SHOWN IN HIS INTERVIEW WITH DR. CHADERTON. — WHITEHEAD AND THE BISHOP OF DURHAM INTERCEDE WITH HIM FOR TOLERATION, AND AGAINST COMPULSION. — SEPARATE WORSHIP IN PROSPECT. — LEICESTER AND LADY SHEFFIELD. . . . . 242

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE PARLIAMENT OF 1566.

THE QUEEN AT GREENWICH. — BIRTH OF JAMES OF SCOTLAND. — HOW REGARDED IN ENGLAND. — THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SUCCESSION PROPOSED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1562-3. — THE LORDS OF COUNCIL NOW URGE IT UPON THE QUEEN. — HER ANSWER. — THE SUBJECT AGITATED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, WHO RESOLVE TO PRESS IT UPON THE QUEEN. — HER INDIGNATION. — A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS ADDRESS HER. — SHE ANGRILY RESENTS THEIR INTERFERENCE. — THE LORD KEEPER ADDRESSES HER IN BEHALF OF BOTH HOUSES. — SHE SENDS ANSWER

TO THE COMMONS, THAT THE TIME WILL NOT SUFFER TO TREAT OF THE SUCCESSION. — THE COMMONS RESUME THE SUBJECT. — THE QUEEN FORBIDS THE DISCUSSION. — THE COMMONS RESENT THE INHIBITION, AND "TWIT THE AUTHORITY OF THE QUEEN." — A SECOND INHIBITION. — THE COMMONS PERSIST. — THE QUEEN RETRACTS. — AT THE CLOSE OF THE PARLIAMENT, SHE REBUKES AND THREATENS. — PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED. 274

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE FIRST SEPARATION. (A. D. 1566, 1567.)

THE QUESTION OF SEPARATE WORSHIP OPENED. — RESTRAINT UPON THE PRESS. — SEPARATION DISCUSSED. — RESOLVED UPON. — CONVENTICLES. — THE QUEEN INCENSED. — THE CONGREGATION IN THE HALL OF THE PLUMBERS ARRESTED. — THE EXAMINATION. — RELIGIOUS LIBERTY CLAIMED. — PRISONERS SENT TO BRIDEWELL. — THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT SHAPED TO WIN THE CATHOLICS. — OBJECTIONS TO SUCH A PLATFORM. — EXPULSION OF NON-CONFORMISTS FROM THE OFFICES OF THE CHURCH JUSTIFIABLE — ECCLESIASTICALLY. — PUNISHMENT FOR PREACHING JUSTIFIABLE — LEGALLY. — FOLLY OF ECCLESIASTICAL PRECISIANISM AND COMPULSION. — THE RIGHT TO MAKE LAWS INVOLVES THE RIGHT TO PUNISH. — THE DOGMA OF "CHURCH AND STATE." . . . 302

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE PAPALINS. (A. D. 1560–1570.)

THE POPE GRANTS DISPENSATIONS TO PREACH HERESY. — PAPIST PRIESTS TURN PURITAN PREACHERS. — THE PAPAL COUNCIL ADVISE THE ASSIGNMENT OF THE ENGLISH CROWN, A PREMIUM FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF ELIZABETH, AND A MORE EXTENSIVE LICENSE FOR HYPOCRISY AND PERJURY. — BULL AGAINST HERETICS GENERALLY. — A NEW IRRUPTION OF DISGUISED PRIESTS. — ONE OF THEM EXECUTED. — THE CATHOLICS BEGIN TO SECEDE. — THE HOLY LEAGUE FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF PROTESTANTS. — SEMINARIES FOR MISSIONARY PRIESTS. — A DOMICILIARY VISIT TO JOHN STOW, THE ANNALIST. — FUNERAL OF COVERDALE. — FUNERAL OF BONNER. — MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, IMPRISONED IN ENGLAND. — THE NORTHERN INSURRECTION. — THE PAPAL BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION AGAINST ELIZABETH. . . . . 335

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE PARLIAMENT OF 1571.

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS. — HER MAJESTY'S PROGRESS TO THE PARLIAMENT-HOUSE. — PARLIAMENT OPENED. — THE COMMONS FORBIDDEN TO ORIGINATE MATTERS OF STATE. — STRICKLAND INTRODUCES A BILL FOR

Reformation in the Church. — Debate upon it. — Resolve to petition Her Majesty for Leave to proceed therein. — Strickland detained from the House. — His Detention resented by the Commons as a Breach of Privilege. — Spirited Debate. — The Rights of the Crown questioned. — Debate suspended. — Strickland reappears. — A Protest against Monopolies. — The Protester and the Commons scared. — They recover from their Fright. — Peter Wentworth — for the Dignity of the House and Liberty of Speech. — Bill to require Protestant Communion. — Debated. — Retrospective Law. — Wentworth's Protest against Pope-Bishops. — Bills for Reformation lost. — An Act for the Safety of the Queen's Majesty. — An Act against Papal Bulls and other Superstitious Things from Rome. — An Act to reform Disorders touching Ministers. — The Commons petition for Redress of Abuses in the Church. — The Commons rebuked, and the Parliament dissolved. . . . . 367

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE PRESBYTERIANS AND THE PARLIAMENT OF 1572.

A Puritan Petition to the Convocation of 1571 rejected. — New Canons for enforcing Uniformity. — The Statute 13 Eliz. Cap. XII. strained to enforce Subscription. — Order from the Queen to enforce exact Uniformity. — Ejected Ministers preach. — Thomas Cartwright oppugns the Constitution of the Anglican Church. — Driven from Cambridge. — Field and Wilcox resolve to petition Parliament. — Parliament assemble, May 8th. — Foreign Plot for Invasion and Revolution. — Alarm of the Nation. — "The Great Cause" of the Queen of Scots. — Elizabeth objects to Proceedings against her in the Degree of Treason. — Both Houses dissent from the Queen. — The Reasons for the Proceedings of Parliament against Mary. — Elizabeth desires another Bill. — The Parliament suddenly adjourned by the Queen. — Bills in the Commons "for Rites and Ceremonies." — The Queen demands them. — Her Majesty herself the Defender of the Faith. . . . . 404

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE ADMONITION TO PARLIAMENT. (A. D. 1572.)

The First Presbytery. — A Puritan Reply to a Bishop's Defence of the Church. — Field and Wilcox imprisoned. — Their Conference with the Archbishop's Chaplain. — Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition. — Cartwright publishes a Second Admonition, and a Reply to Whitgift's Answer. — Their Controversy. — The Queen's Proclamation against the Admonition, and Cartwright's Reply. — The Alarm of the Precisian Prelates. — Subscription enforced

THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM. — THE MASSACRE ON ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY IN PARIS. — REJOICINGS AT ROME. — EFFECT OF THE MASSACRE IN ENGLAND. — THE CONDITION OF RELIGION. . . . . 437

## CHAPTER XVII.

### "PRETTY BRISK." — ARCHBISHOP PARKER. (A. D. 1573.)

REASONS FOR DISCIPLINING PURITANS, AND REASONINGS AGAINST THEM. — THE ARCHBISHOP'S PERPLEXITIES. — PERSECUTION FOR OPINIONS OPENED. — THE NEW "FANTASIES" SPREAD. — PROCLAMATION FOR ENFORCING THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY. — NEW ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION. — THE COUNCIL REBUKE THE BISHOPS FOR SLACKNESS. — CHARGE TO THE COMMISSIONERS. — LORD BURLEIGH'S POSITION. — TESTS IMPOSED BY THE COMMISSIONERS. — MINISTERS SILENCED AND IMPRISONED. — "THE PHYSICIANS THEMSELVES SICK." . . . . . 467

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THINKING. (A. D. 1573, 1574.)

EDWARD DEERING, A CONFORMING PURITAN, PUNISHED FOR HIS OPINIONS. — BISHOP SANDYS INTERCEDES FOR HIS RESTORATION. — HE IS RESTORED, AND AGAIN SILENCED. — HE IS PUT UNDER INQUISITION FOR WORDS AND THOUGHTS. — HIS LETTER TO BURLEIGH AGAINST THE LORDSHIP OF BISHOPS. — DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BISHOPS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH AND THOSE OF THE ANGLICAN. — MR. DEERING'S ANSWER TO CHARGES FOR WORDS SPOKEN. — HIS REPLY TO INTERROGATORIES FROM THE BISHOPS; AND TO TWENTY ARTICLES PROPOUNDED BY THE LORDS. — THEIR ANTI-DESPOTIC OPINIONS, THE TRUE OFFENCE OF THE PURITANS. . . . . 500

## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST PRIMACY. (A. D. 1574, 1575.)

A SICK PRISONER. — HIS CRIMES AGAINST PRECISIANISM. — HIS EXAMINATION. — A NICE POINT CANVASSED. — RAILING *vs.* SCRIPTURE. — THE SICK MAN REMANDED TO PRISON. — DIES, FROM WANT AND CONFINEMENT. — THE PRIMATE'S SEVERITIES EXCITE DISGUST. — HIS VINDICATION OF HIMSELF. — HIS DEATH. . . . . 526

# THE PURITANS.

## CHAPTER I.

### EDWARD THE SIXTH.

THE YOUNG KING. — THE LORD PROTECTOR. — THE INSURRECTIONS. — THE NEW PREACHER.

1549.

UPON the manor of Hampton Court, about fifteen miles from London, the Lord Cardinal Wolsey, when in his prime of pride and power, erected a magnificent palace, designing it for his retreat from the cares of state. But in 1526, to forestall detraction and disarm envy, he presented it to his royal master, Henry VIII.[1] Beyond the artistic grounds which immediately surrounded the mansion lay an extensive park, pleasantly diversified with hill and valley, glade and forest, and revealing, at many points, the bright surface of the Thames, which just there makes a large and graceful curve southward.

On one of the last days of August, 1549, while yet the fog lay upon the river below, and the turf was brilliant with dew, a party of mounted gentlemen issued from the wood upon a rising ground which commanded some of the best points

[1] Stow's Annals, 525.

of this rural landscape. They were evidently of knightly rank, for there were golden spurs there; while embroidered housings, rich mantles, and glittering jewels bespoke them of the royal household. The most conspicuous were two persons in whose rear the others rode, as if in respectful attendance, and with whose conversation we introduce our narrative.

The one was a man in middle life, muscular, erect, and well-proportioned; his complexion bronzed by exposure; his features somewhat stern in repose, but lively and pleasing when roused by conversation; whose whole port, as well as the ease with which he controlled his steed, would have led even a careless observer to suppose him not only a gallant courtier, but a war-worn soldier.

The other was a youth of less than twelve years; his body and limbs, though slender, remarkable for their symmetry, and indicating agility rather than strength; his countenance beaming with intelligence; his eyes lustrous, lively, and commanding, though not imperious in their expression; and his whole face denoting a spirit too ardent, too aspiring, too full of restless loving-kindness for the body in which it dwelt.[1] Upon his spirited jennet — a creature of the Andalusian breed — his person was displayed to great advantage; and the morning air and brisk exercise had given a glow to his usually pallid cheek, which perfected his youthful beauty. Pointing, as they emerged from the cover of the wood, to the noble palace but a short distance below, he uttered an exclamation of gladness, and

[1] Rapin, II. 26, note. Carte, III. 279, 280.

added: "Marry! my lord Duke, this hath been a dashing ride, and hath whetted our appetite to a marvel. An we find not stout trencher-fare awaiting us, we'll e'en remember it against you when we quit our leading-strings."

"Prithee, my gracious liege!" replied the other, raising his plumed cap, "hold me not answerable for trencher-furnishings."

"For everything within our realms; from a bishop's mitre to the peeling of an onion."

"I cry you mercy!" exclaimed the cavalier; "your Highness would not have me a scullion!"

"So much for being Lord Protector," gayly responded the youth. "The burden with the honor, uncle mine. An you rouse our stomach in such a fashion of a morning, why not answer for our feeding? In some places our private journal shall read, 'My Lord Somerset hath credit for such a thing'; that will be when he behaveth well. And anon, perchance, 'My Lord Somerset my debtor for such a thing'; that will be when he doth not something he ought, or doth something naughty. Then,"— and with a look half serious, half boyish, he pointed his gloved finger at the Duke,—"when we can count eighteen years of life, we shall know how weigheth my lord in the balance. The Lord Protector should take heed to his ways."

Playfully as this was spoken, the fresh color excited by the morning's ride faded upon Somerset's cheek, and his eye for an instant fell; a change which the young King Edward noticed, but instantly forgot, until not many weeks afterwards it recurred to his mind and was understood.

The laboring classes in the kingdom had lately been driven to great straits by the selfish measures of the nobles, and had risen in arms demanding redress; in some sections instigated, and inflamed to the greatest insolence, by the arts of their Romish priests. The insurrections had been suppressed at the cost of considerable blood. The sympathies of the Duke had been with the people, — not for their mistaken fanaticism, but for their sufferings, — although, as in duty bound, he had sent forces against them. He had just granted, on his sole authority, a pardon to all concerned in the commotions, excepting only a few of their leaders. This grace, and his disposition to redress the popular grievances, had inflamed the nobles against him; and he well knew that they would shrink from no libels to effect his ruin.[1] It was the knowledge of this which, to his ear, rendered the light and guileless words of his unsuspecting sovereign oracular of evil, and produced the emotion so visible upon his countenance. But, disdaining all allusion to charges yet unspoken, and recovering himself by a strong effort, he said calmly, "Your Majesty's journal! I did not know —"

"Tush, uncle! We make no doubt that your love will compel us to make fair entries."

Somerset acknowledged his royal nephew's compliment, and replied heartily, "By my troth! an deeds *can* keep pace with devotion, and a subject *overdo* loyalty, I shall be largely credited, I ween, when your Majesty cometh to your majority."[2]

[1] Fox, II. 665. Stow, 596, 597. Strype's Cranmer, 185. Lodge, I. 131. Rapin, II. 15, 16.

[2] Edward VI., by direction of his tutor, Mr. John Cheeke, afterwards knighted, kept a private journal —

"God help us in that day!" exclaimed the young king with great solemnity. "How we lack wisdom to rule so great a people! to settle all these affairs about religion, too! and to do it well! How can we get it in six short years? God help us! God help us!" and he pressed his hand to his brow as if pained with thought. "This religion," he resumed after a moment's pause, "the speaking of it remindeth us of your chaplain, Doctor Hooper,[1] preaching now in London. You did say yestereve, that he is a hater of Popery and of the Six Articles, and zealous for the reforming of religion. We marvel that such an one should travail for Christ in our own realm and be unknown to us. Tell us of him, good my lord Duke."

"In troth, your Majesty,[2] he be but a new man in England, albeit he be English born and English bred. He was an Oxford scholar when the statute of the Six Articles was passed, ten years sithence; a zealous man and a bold for a reformation in the Church; and — so it is bruited — did use strong speech against the Articles. Whether he did or no, he

still extant — of all matters of interest to himself; but particularly of the doings and debates of the Council, the despatch of ambassadors, honors conferred, &c. Biog. Brit., II. 1311, and note D. Burnet (Vol. II. p. 251) says that this journal was commenced in 1550; of course not in existence at the time stated in the text. But Strype (Life of Cranmer, 298) says, "writ all with his own hand, from the beginning of his reign, 1547, until 28 Nov. 1552." See also Fox, II. 653.

[1] Burnet, II. 245. Parker Society's Biog. Notice of Hooper, p. x. Neal, I. 52, note.

[2] "Henry VIII. says Houssaie, was the first who assumed the title of 'Highness'; and at length 'Majesty.'" — D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature, p. 48. "The title of 'Majesty' is given to Henry II. in two passages of 'The Black Book Exchequer'; the most ancient instances I have met with." — Lingard, VI. 371, note.

did fall eftsoons into displeasure and hatred of certain Rabbins there, and most of Doctor Smith, professor of divinity; who, by and by, began to stir coals against him, whereby he was compelled to void the University.[1] Shall I tell *all* his adventures, my liege?"

"Ay, all, all. You know we take note of every magistrate and gentleman who beareth office or authority in our realm, even to their names, conversation, and housekeeping, to the intent we may know their worthiness or unworthiness.[2] How much more doth it behoove us to take note, and to know well, of our clergy. Tell all, my lord."

"Master Hooper fled to the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, who gave him protection and made him an officer of his household. But discovering his religion, he was displeased thereat, and sent him to my lord of Winchester to be converted backwards. The Bishop found the pupil somewhat hard at conversion, and sent him again to Sir Thomas, right well commending his learning and wit, but withal bearing in his breast a grudging stomach against him. Anon, the Master Hooper was told privily that danger was working against him. Whereat he took flight to Paris. In a short time he returned, and was retained of one Master Lentlow till the time he was again molested and laid for; whereby he was again compelled to take the seas in disguise; and so escaped he through France to the higher parts of Germany."[3]

[1] Fox, III. 145. P. S. Memoir, viii.

[2] Fox, II. 652.

[3] Fox, III. 145. P. S. Memoir, viii.

"By my troth!" exclaimed the young king, "an persecution betoken goodness, Master Hooper hath brave commendation!"

"Hated at home," continued Somerset, "but befriended abroad. Bullinger was his singular friend; and he is much beloved by Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, and John à Lasco, whom his Grace of Canterbury hath invited hither."[1]

"Another mark of goodness, an a man may be known by his friends. Proceed, my lord."

"But Master Hooper was not content with scholar friendships, and took to his heart a fair and godly damsel who lived not far from Antwerp."

"Married, ha!"

"Nay, my liege. I did but say he took her to his *heart*. He was too poor to marry. So he came to England about three years agone, to get moneys from his father. But the Six Article men e'en again made England too hot for him, whence he barely escaped with his life. Albeit, he came safe again to Antwerp, and in the latter part of that year, 1546, he was married in Switzerland, at Basle or at Zurich,—my memory serveth not which,—to Mistress Anne de Tserchlas, a woman of good blood and high worth."[2]

"So ho! married at last! Ma foi! a sincere Protestant, then, and a bold. Prithee, my lord Duke, is he learned?"

"Well skilled, your Majesty, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. At Zurich he gave himself very studiously

[1] Holingshed, IV. 742, 743. Heylin's Ref. 79. Strype's Cranmer, 195, 196. Strype's Whitgift, 389.

[2] Fox, III. 145. P. S. Memoir, ix.

to the original tongues of the Scriptures, especially to the Hebrew."[1]

"It now mindeth us," said the king, "that we did hear his name when you and our good Archbishop did moot the sending for Master Myles Coverdale.[2] But troth, we mislike it. Why have we not known his return ere this present?"

"Good, my liege lord, he did arrive in London only on the very last of May. When he heard of your Majesty coming to the crown, and of the good progress of religion under your Majesty's favor, he was fain to come at once to offer his service. But a wife and infant daughter did hinder awhile. Soon after their arrival I did take him into my service to be my chaplain.[3] To try his doctrine and his parts before commending him to your Highness, I have permitted him to preach in London. He hath proved himself—"

"Hold, my lord Duke! yonder is one we would talk with about this man. Follow, my lord!"

So saying, the young king, an expert and fearless rider, put spurs to his horse, and was closely followed by the Duke and his attendants.

Edward VI., young as he was, had given indications of character and capacity which had excited the highest hope and enthusiasm of his subjects, and the admiration of foreign residents at his court. When six years of age, in the summer of 1544, he had been committed to the care of Master John Cheeke, then Greek lecturer at the University of

[1] Fox, III. 145. Fuller, Bk. VII. p. 402. Burnet, III. 299. Carte, III. 253. Heyl. Ref., 90.

[2] Fox, II. 654. Collier, V. 188. Heyl. Ref., 34. P. S. Memoir, 526.

[3] P. S. Memoir, ix., x.

Cambridge, and of Doctor Richard Cox; the former to instruct him in Greek and Latin, and the latter in Christian doctrine, in philosophy, and in the deportment becoming a prince. In modern languages, he had other instructors. In a short time he could converse perfectly in French, and had a good command of Italian, Greek, Latin, and Spanish; so that he received and answered, in his own person, the ambassadors of foreign courts when presented at his own. He was amiable, tractable, eager and quick to learn, and spared no labor to qualify himself for his station. His judgment was precocious; he gave himself to affairs of state with intense interest and becoming gravity, requiring of his Council a reason for every matter which should pass their judgments. From early childhood, he had manifested both reverence and love for religion; and at his accession to the throne, in 1547, had immediately favored a reformation in the Church, and urged the better religious instruction of his people. Somerset, therefore, in speaking of a new and worthy preacher, had at once excited the interest of his royal ward. The Duke, now Lord Protector of the king's realm and person, was a friend to the Reformation; as were the two preceptors who have been named, and who had instructed their pupil, with great care, in the Protestant faith, and in his duties as a Christian and a king. For Doctor Cox he had profound respect and love, had made him Privy Councillor and King's Almoner, and paid particular deference to his opinion in matters of religion. It was at sight of him that he had suspended his conversation with the Duke of Somerset.[1]

[1] Fox, II. 653. Holingshed, IV. 741. Rapin, II. 1, and note; and

A brisk gallop soon brought them to the Doctor, who was abroad to enjoy the morning. As soon as they had committed their horses to their attendants and exchanged the usual salutations, the king said, "My dear tutor, my lord Duke hath refreshed our remembrance of Dr. Hooper, whilom an exile on account of his religion. Know you him, good sir?"

"I did, my liege, in your royal father's day."

"Now, my lord Duke," said Edward, turning to the Protector, "you have the ear of one of whom we always take advisement touching the affairs of Holy Church, and to whom we give respect, as you well know, in things spiritual more than is meet we should do to our courtiers, or even to our honored Protector. You give your knightly gage that Master Hooper hateth Popery and the Six Articles?"

"Boldly I do, may it please your Grace."

"Let us hear aught else of him. You did give cause, yester-eve, to suppose that somewhat pertaineth to him of rare worth and worship. Let us walk while we talk; for, you know, we would break our fast anon."

"I have shown your Highness that he is a good man. I may affirm, too, that he is a wondrous preacher."

"So are others, my lord," replied the king, in a tone expressive of dissatisfaction. "Methought you did intend that he hath some *singular* excellence of parts."

"His eloquence exceedeth to a marvel; and he is zealous for a pure worship and for a pure life."

25, note. Heyl. Ref., 12–33 *passim*. Burnet, II. 1, 2, 39; III. 298, 304. Hallam, 58. Biog. Brit., Articles *Cheeke, Cox*.

"On mine honor!" replied the king, musing, "that *be* a rare office now-a-days, — preaching up a pure *life;* fit preaching, too, and worthy of praise. Is it not, good sir?" addressing Doctor Cox.

"In sooth it be," replied the preceptor. "To exhort men to behave better out of church, as well as to worship better in it, is both commendable and timely; for the wickedness that prevaileth among all classes is but softly and seldom rebuked. An Doctor Hooper playeth the soldier against the vices of the world and the corruptions of the Church, as I am told he doth, may the good Lord prosper him."

"Amen!" replied Edward. Then, turning to the Duke, "We listen, my lord."

"Doctor Hooper is diligent. He practiseth with the sword seven days in the week."

"What, my lord! a priest a sword-player?"

"Of a verity he is so, my liege; and none in your Majesty's dominions surpasseth him in skill. The bruit of it draweth thousands around him. Howbeit, he wieldeth only the sword of the Spirit."

"So ho! He preacheth seven days in the week?"

"Every day, my liege. He hath a body strong; health sound; wit pregnant; patience invincible. In his doctrine, earnest; in tongue, eloquent; in the Scriptures, perfect; in pains, indefatigable, for he not only preacheth every day, but most time twice every day. In his sermons, he sharply inveigheth against the people's iniquities. He explaineth the Scriptures freely; and maketh them scales in which, before their eyes, his hearers' righteousness doth kick the beam, and their vices weigh like millstones. They do not go from his preaching feeling — nicely."

"So, so; softly, uncle mine. You spoil your preacher! Who goeth to church to be rated? and preaching to bare walls is bootless."

"Troth, my gracious liege, walls are not souls. Howbeit, as I did say, there be souls enow where *he* preacheth. The people in great flocks and companies daily come to hear his voice, like it were the most melodious sound of Orpheus's harp; insomuch that ofttimes they be in crowds about the church for lack of room within. Even his old persecutor, Doctor Smith, confesseth his wondrous power, saying that 'the people do hold him for a prophet from God; nay, even more than a prophet.' They flock to hear him, your Grace, *because* he upbraideth them."

"Because! and fourteen times a week! Bravo! a master indeed, an he draw such crowds, and so often, to see their own naughtiness."

"Of a truth, my liege lord, it proveth his mastership," said Somerset.

"What be the secret of all this?" asked the king, turning to his tutor.

"Methinks," answered Doctor Cox, "it lieth partly in his honesty and earnestness; but chiefly in that the people preach what he preacheth."

"The people!"

"Even so, my gracious prince. He declareth, and they say, 'Amen.' He expoundeth the truth, and men's consciences echo it. When that be so, it matters little what truth be spoken,—men will go to hear it."[1]

The young king was deeply interested in this report of Doctor Hooper's extraordinary powers and

[1] Fox, III. 146. Heyl. Ref., 94. Burnet, III. 302. P. S. Memoir, x.

piety; and, as they were entering the gates of the palace, he said to Somerset, "It is our will that your chaplain remain in London and continue his preaching. Bid him abide our further pleasure. God be thanked for a messenger fit to rouse our poor subjects to a knowledge of the truth. Is he a courtly man, my lord Duke?"

"They who do not know him well, call him not so, my liege. They liken him to Switzerland in harsh, rough unpleasantness. They think him grave into rigor, and severe into surliness. Yet is this all owing to their little acquaintance with him. They who visit him but once condemn him of over-austerity; they who repair to him twice, only suspect him of the same; while they who converse with him constantly, as I have done, not only acquit him of all morosity, but commend him for sweetness of manners."[1]

"Find him out, Doctor Cox; find him out. Give him a few good homilies on courtesy. You will find a text, you know, in one of Saint Peter's letters. An you succeed, we will order him to preach at our Court, mayhap."

Thus, by his Majesty's express command, Hooper continued his daily labors in London until, on the 5th of February, 1550, he received orders from the King and Council to preach before the Court once a week during Lent. He was also sent by the king to preach in the counties of Kent and Essex, to reconcile the people to the Reformation.[2]

[1] Fox, III. 146. Fuller, Bk. VII. p. 402.

[2] Fox, III. 146. Burnet, III. 302. Neal, I. 52. P. S. Memoir, xi., xii.

# CHAPTER II.

## THE REFORMATION.

ITS ORIGIN. — THE STATUTE OF PRÆMUNIRE. — THE SEPARATION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. — THE SUPREMACY. — "THE SIX ARTICLES." — THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI. — CHURCH REFORM. — INNOVATION DISLIKED.

1350–1550.

THE evangelical Reformation of England originated from within herself. So did her ecclesiastical. Bradwardine and Wickliffe preceded Luther and Melancthon, Edward III. preceded Leo X. — a hundred and fifty years. Tyndal and Bilney and Coverdale, although contemporary with Luther and Zwingle, wrought independently of them; and when the monk of Wittemberg was nailing his Theses to the door of the church, the true Reformation in England was already vitalized and in progress.[1]

In 1350 Edward III., influenced doubtless by his pious chaplain Bradwardine, who exalted the Scriptures and abased traditions, wishing to secure the religious liberties of England against the encroachments of the Pontiff of Rome, passed "the Statute of Provisors," so called; by which imprisonment or banishment for life was decreed for all who should procure, or *provide*, any presentations to benefices in the English Church from the Court of Rome.

[1] D'Aubigne, V. 80–83, 149–159.

By another statute, every person was outlawed who should carry thither any cause by appeal.

In 1393, under Richard II., the Act of Provisors was renewed; and it was also enacted, that whosoever should bring into England, receive, publish, or execute there, any papal bull, excommunication, or other like document, should be out of the king's protection, — by some understood to mean that his life was at the mercy of any man, — and forfeit goods, chattels, and liberty. This was called "The Statute of Præmunire."[1]

By these statutes, the independent supremacy

[1] Fox, I. 548. Burnet, I. 175–177. Neal, I. 1. Hume, I. 610, II. 36. D'Aubigne, V., 81, 82.

"The most natural meaning of the word *præmunire* (given more particularly to the Act of 1393) seems to be, to fence and fortify the regal power from foreign assault." D'Aubigne, V. 82, note.

"Touching præmunire, it is properly a Writ, or process of summons, awarded against such as brought in Bulls, or Citations, from the Court of Rome, to obtain Ecclesiastical Benefices, by way of provision, before they fell void; for of old time, divers acts of Parliament were made, viz. in the times of King Edward III., King Richard II., and King Henry IV., against the Pope's exercise of jurisdiction within this nation; and against those subjects that did appeal, from courts of justice here, to the Court of Rome; and who obtained Provisions there, to have Priories, Abbeys, or Benefices with Cure, here; which proceedings tended (say those Statutes) to the destruction of the Realm, and of Religion. Therefore, these being held to be great offences, and so tending to the disherison of rights belonging to the Crown and the people of England, and to the destruction of the Common Law, are made to be grievously punishable, viz. To be imprisoned during life, To forfeit lands and goods, and to be put out of the protection of the law." — *Charge of Serjeant Thorpe, Judge of Assize for the North Circuit, to the Grand Jury at York Assizes*, 20 *March*, 1648. (Harleian Miscellany, II. 7.) Serjeant Thorpe also embraces under the same term statutes enacted in the reign of Elizabeth against other, but analogous offences, to which the same penalties were attached. I think it will appear in the course of the following pages that by "a præmunire" was sometimes meant only the *penalty* affixed to the original statute of that name, even when incurred by some ecclesiastical irregularity, or offence, entirely different from those described in that statute itself.

of the Pope had been technically walled out of England. Not so, however, in fact. Papal intrigue and diplomacy had put them to sleep; and the old encroachments and usurpations had crept in again. But Henry VIII. aroused them, and wielded them so stoutly and adroitly, as to transfer to himself and his successors that supremacy over the English Church which the Popes had so long arrogated and held.

It happened thus. Henry and Pope Clement had been negotiating a long time about the divorce of Queen Catharine, — a matter upon which the king had set his heart. The Pope had scruples about it, — scruples of policy they were, though he talked only about conscience. He had put the matter off, and put it off, until the king began to think himself trifled with; and it was plain that he would be incensed should Clement refuse the divorce. On the other hand, should he decree it, it was certain that Charles V., Emperor of Germany and nephew of Queen Catharine, would be incensed. For a good while, his Holiness had weighed the two monarchs in his fisherman's scales; which it had become pretty certain would turn in favor of the Emperor. Henry was out of patience. At this juncture, a word fitly spoken by a bold and clear-headed counsellor[1] roused him to a sense of his kingly degradation as a suitor to Rome, and he determined to shake off his ghostly allegiance; that henceforth he himself would be head of the Church in England; that he would entail the dignity upon his heirs; and so English princes no more be serfs

[1] Lingard, VI. 177. D'Aubigne, V. 491, 492.

of a foreign lord. But how could he bring the clergy to cast off their old allegiance, and to own spiritual fealty to a temporal prince?

Parliament had not met for seven years. During all this time the Pope had given law to Englishmen, and judged them in his courts; his interests had been sustained by oppressions upon all classes and in all branches of business, until lords and commons cringed under the smart of their wrongs. Wolsey, a prince of the Roman Church, had been judge paramount. All judicial transactions had passed in his name and under his seal, as the Pope's lieutenant.[1] The king had permitted this, to be sure; but that did not alter the legal fact. He therefore ordered the Cardinal to be arrested and tried for treason; and he was pronounced guilty under the Statute of Præmunire.[2] The poor man immediately took to his bed; and in a few days died, with the sad words upon his lips: "Had I been as careful to serve the God of heaven, as I have to comply to the will of my earthly king, God would not have left me in mine old age, as the other hath done."[3]

But if Wolsey was guilty under those old laws of Provisors and Præmunire, so were all the clergy; for all had sought his court and admitted its decisions. It was well. The whip suited the king's purpose. He had found it; he held it; and he would not lay it down except the culprits ecclesiastic would come to terms. So they were judged to

[1] D'Aubigne, V. 493, 494.
[2] Neal, I. 32. D'Aubigne, V. II. 346.
[3] Fuller's Holy State, 253. Hume, 487–489.

be in *præmunire*, for maintaining the illegal power and acts of the Cardinal. They were at the king's mercy. They offered to buy off the *præmunire*, to which the king consented on condition that they would also recognize his ecclesiastical supremacy, not otherwise.[1] They yielded, and sued for pardon; agreeing to pay one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds; and "acknowledging his Majesty to be a singular protector, the only and supreme lord, and, as far as was allowed by the Gospel, *Supreme Head* likewise of the Church and clergy of England." The royal wrath was appeased, and pardon granted. This was in January and March, 1531. On the third day of November, 1534, the Parliament, having meanwhile invested him with all the real powers of the ecclesiastical supremacy, conferred on the king the title; ordaining that he "should be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, . . . . . and should have full power to reform and correct all manner of spiritual authority and jurisdiction"; the words, "as far as was allowed by the Gospel," being purposely omitted in the act.

Thus was the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope abolished in England, and that of the crown substituted.[2]

Within his own realm, Henry was now every whit a pope; not in ecclesiastical authority only, but in doctrine, superstition, bigotry, despotism, and cruelty. Installed at the Vatican, instead of

[1] Lingard, VI. 178. Burnet, I. 183. Lingard, VI. 228.

[2] Stow's Annals, 559. Heylin's Ref. 19. Neal, I. 32. Hume, II. 347, 356. Carte, III. 108, 109, 128. Hallam, 48.

Hampton Court or Whitehall, he would have been — without change in his opinions or measures — as true, as orthodox, and as consistent a head of the Roman Church Catholic, as was Clement himself.

True, he broke up the monasteries, and turned the monks adrift; but he had need of their worldly substance. He demolished the shrines of pretended saints; but he needed their hoards of jewels and gold. He burned images which he proscribed as abused to superstition; but he spared others. He allowed the Bible to be translated, printed, and read by all; but afterwards repented and forbade its use. He disapproved giving godly honor to images; but said it was well enough to kneel and to burn incense before them; and it was a very good thing, he proclaimed, to pray to saints in heaven, and to pray for dead men's souls.[1] He issued a bull, too, which the Roman Pope would have approved. In it he told his subjects, —

1. That if any one denied that the bread and the wine of the sacramental supper were the real body and blood of Christ, he should be burned alive, without the privilege of abjuring.

2. That the bread is both the body and the blood, and that the wine is both the body and the blood of Christ, — so that partaking of either is sufficient.[2]

[1] Stow, 553, 554, 575. Heylin's Ref., 9–11, 20, 48. Holingshed, IV. 732. Carte, III. 128, 129, 151. Burnet, I., II. *passim*. Neal, I. *passim*. Hallam, 57, and note.

[2] At the beginning of the ninth century, the opinions respecting the mode in which Christ is present at the ordinance commemorative of his death were vague and various, though all were agreed that he was so — *in some sense*.

In the year 831, a monk named Pascasius broached the following

3. That priests ought not to marry.
4. That vows of chastity are perpetually binding.
5. That private masses ought to be continued.[1]
6. That confession to a priest is necessary to forgiveness.

dogma, namely, that, after the consecration of the bread and wine, nothing remains of them but the *outward form;* under which the very body of Christ which was born of Mary, had suffered on the cross, and risen from the grave, is locally and really present. (Mosheim, II. 331, Cent. IX. Part II. Ch. III.)

In 1215, Pope Innocent III., by an arbitrary edict — i. e. without obtaining the opinion of the Church Catholic by Council or otherwise — ordained the doctrine of Pascasius to be a doctrine of the Church, and gave it the name of Transubstantiation. (Fox, II. 459. Mosheim, III. 236, Cent. XIII. Part II. Ch. III.) As a result of this decree, the bread particularly — being the only element then given to the laity — became an object of religious worship, as being the very person of God; and about the year 1222, Pope Honorius III. ordained the elevation of the sacrament, and that the people should kneel and worship it. (Fox, II. 460; III. 9.)

Luther held to what he called *Con*-substantiation; namely, that, after consecration, the true body and blood of Christ are *in*, *with*, and *under* the elements. In other words, that the bread and the wine, the body and the blood, are *all* there.

Martin Bucer, Calvin, and Bishop Ridley held to a real presence of Christ's body and blood, but excluded the idea of the *corporal* reception of the same by the communicant.

Zwingle regarded the elements only as signs or figures of Christ's body and blood; and the partaking thereof only as a spiritual communion with our Saviour, — a simple memorial of his death. (Heylin's Ref., 53. Burnet, II. 166, 167. Milman's Gibbon, IV. 35, N. York edit. 1847. Hallam, 63.)

[1] The Popish Mass includes not only the consecrating services by which transubstantiation is supposed to be effected, but the offering, as an expiatory sacrifice, of that which is supposed, by the consecration, to have become Christ, — an offering made either for the living or for the dead.

High Mass is that in which the service of the consecration is publicly performed by a choir; after which the sacrament is elevated, and all the people render worship.

Low Mass is that in which the service is recited only, without singing.

"Private Masses were those that were celebrated by the priest alone in behalf of souls detained in purgatory, as well as upon some other particular occasions." — Mosheim, II. 261, note. "The private Mass suffereth the priest alone to eat and drink up all, and when he hath done, to bless the people with the

He added, that whoever should deny any of these last five points should forfeit — even if he should recant — all his goods and chattels, and be imprisoned as long as the king pleased; and if he continued obstinate, or, after recanting his disbelief, relapsed, he should be put to death.[1]

All this was made a law by Parliament in June, 1538. It was called "The Statute of the Six Articles," of which mention has been made above; sometimes, "The Bloody Statute"; and sometimes, "The Whip with Six Strings." But besides this, if any one neglected to confess to the priest, or to receive the sacrament at the stated times, he should be fined and imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and if he continued to do so after being found guilty, he should be put to death.[2]

The superior clergy had acknowledged a new master, and Parliament had legalized their act. But nearly all the inferior clergy, and some of the bishops and nobles, were opposed to the change,[3] and the grosser doctrines and the external forms of Romanism were still enforced. We see here no Reformation. The monarch had only riven his Papal bands. With the greater part of his subjects, he still clave to his old religion, and upheld it to his dying day.[4]

Whatever had been done towards a reformation in

empty cup. . . . . In the private Mass, the sacrament is received in behoof not only of him that executeth, but of them also that stand looking on, and of them also which be afar off or in purgatory." — Fox, II. 462.

Trental Masses are masses for the dead, rehearsed for thirty successive days. (Burnet, II. 101.)

[1] Hume, II. 403, compared with Heylin's Ref., 10, with Burnet, I. 416, and Neal, I. 39.

[2] Burnet, I. 417. Hume, II. 403.

[3] Neal, I. 34, 35.

[4] Introduction to Heylin's Ref.

religion, had been done by simpler means than royal edicts and civil statutes. It had been done in secret places and in silence. The Reformer, — God; the means, — his Providence and his Word. His Word, — for that only was waking men to the grand and commanding conviction, that he who worships God must worship him in spirit and in truth; a conviction which was entering alike the palace of the prelate and the cot of the peasant. This was the true, the fundamental, the *invisible* Reformation. While Henry lived, he repressed it. But when Death broke his despotism, it found its true position and became — still resting upon that Word which had given it being — the living foundation upon which was builded the ecclesiastical fabric of the *visible* Reformation.

Edward VI., the son of Henry by Jane Seymour, came to the throne on the 28th of January, 1547; a mere child, aged nine years and three months.[1] By Henry's will, the government devolved upon sixteen executors, "whom," it says, "we ordain and constitute our Privy Council *with* our said son." He also named twelve others upon whom the Council *might* "call" for "aid and assistance." The legal minority of the young king was limited by the same instrument to the termination of his eighteenth year. Sir Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford and eldest brother of Queen Jane, had been made Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of the realm, immediately upon Edward's accession. Next after the coronation, the Council had entered officially upon the work of

[1] Heylin's Ref., 30.

reforming the Church. Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some other bishops, promoted the work from a sincere desire for a purer doctrine and worship; but it is doubtless true that a greed of wealth influenced the secular nobility of the Court, who coveted and soon obtained the treasures of those shrines, and those Chantry lands which had not yet been appropriated by the crown.[1]

The first step had been to send out Commissioners under the king, as Supreme Head of the Church, to inquire into ecclesiastical affairs, and to enjoin certain prescribed duties. They had been attended by suitable preachers, who were directed to instruct the people in the principles of religion, and to dissuade them from praying to saints or for the dead, from adoring images, from masses, and other superstitious rites of the Romish Church.[2]

The Statute of the Six Articles had been repealed. A new liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, and religious ceremonies, had been drawn up by a committee under order of Council, and passed as a law on the 17th of January, 1549, by the Parliament which had convened in the previous November.[3] In

[1] Burnet, II. 39. Heylin's Ref., 33, and Introduc. "Chantries were salaries allowed to one or more priests, to say daily mass for the souls of their deceased founders and their friends." — Heylin's Ref., 51. "A chantry was a little church, or chapel, or a particular altar in some cathedral church, . . . . . endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests daily to sing mass and perform divine service for the souls of the founders, and such others as they appointed." — Rapin, II. 10, note. See also Lodge, I. 123, note. A large account of Chantries is in Fuller, Bk. VI. pp. 351 – 354.

[2] Fox, II. 655. Strype's Cranmer, 146 – 148. Heylin's Ref., 34. Heylin's Presb., 204. Carte, III. 211, 212. Burnet, II. 41 – 44. Neal, I. 44. Hume, II. 464.

[3] Fox, II. 654, 660. Collier, V. 224, 306. Strype's Cranmer, 157. Stow, 595. Carte, III. 224 – 227.

this liturgy, the practices of adoring the wood of the cross and the host or sacramental bread, all masses, all prayers to saints, all blessing of inanimate things, as bells, candles, fire, water, salt, &c., were left out;[1] the Mass was changed into the Communion; and both the bread and the wine were directed to be given to the people, who were still taught, however, that in each element they received the very body of Christ;[2] confession to the priest was left to every man's discretion; and the sign of the cross in baptism, in confirmation, and in anointing the sick, was retained. This liturgy was in a great measure a translation of the Romish Manual.[3]

The English Bible and Erasmus's paraphrase of the Gospels had been placed in every church, "in some most convenient and open place, that the people might read the same as they listed"; marriage had been permitted to the clergy; the removal of all images and pictures from the churches had been ordered; and the ceremonies of bearing palms on Palm-Sunday, candles on Candlemas-day,

Rapin, II. 9, 13. Burnet, II. 63, 98. Holingshed, IV. 741. Heyl. Ref., 48.

[1] To comply with the heathenish superstition of the people, it had been customary for the priest to pronounce a blessing upon water and salt, that so they might be made efficacious to the health of both body and soul, and serve, wherever sprinkled, as a charm against devils; — upon the holy bread, that it might keep off diseases and the snares of the Devil; — upon holy incense, that the smoke might keep off devils, and impart to the people the virtue of the Holy Ghost; — upon ashes, that those covered with them might *deserve* remission of sins. The people thought that, *without* true holiness, they might be sure of heaven by such superstitious observances. (Burnet, II. 117.)

[2] Fox, II. 658, 660. Collier, V. 227. Strype's Cranmer, 159, 193. Burnet, II. 102, 103, 127, 247.

[3] Stow, 595, 596. Rapin, II. 10, 11, 13. Carte, III. 219, 221, 226. Neal, I. 47.

ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and some of the rites used on Good-Friday and Easter-day, had been forbidden.[1]

A book of Homilies, or short discourses, had also been published, to be read by the clergy in public service. The purport of these was, — that remission of sins, and salvation, are to be obtained only because of the death of Christ, and by those only who trust in him alone and adopt his precepts as their rule of life;[2] in other words, that justification before God is not to be obtained by sacraments, masses, absolutions, and ceremonials, but only by trust in Christ and amendment of life.

It is a significant fact, that one great, if not the chief, reason for the construction of these Homilies,[3] and of the Forms of Prayer, was that the common clergy, for lack of education, if not of religion, were utterly incapable of preaching and of praying in public. To supply this woful lack, the liturgy was framed. We have said, that it was in a great measure a translation of the Romish Manual. The Common Prayer, in particular, was taken out of the Popish Mass-book; another significant fact, for it was intentional on the part of the Reformers, lest, by too sudden and absolute an abandonment of ancient forms, they should so shock the prejudices of the people as to fail of establishing the more Scriptural worship at which they aimed. It was their policy, "*by little and little* to wean the

[1] Fox, II. 656, 658, 661. Stow, 595. Collier, V. 241, 304. Rapin, II. 11. Heylin's Ref., 35, 42. Strype's Cranmer, 148, 156, 159. Carte, III. 220, 227. Burnet, II. 94, 96, 141. Cardwell, I. 4 – 65.

[2] Burnet, II. 42, 43. Neal, I. 45.

[3] Strype's Memorials, III. 591.

people from their superstitions."[1] Hence it was, that, although many Popish superstitions were omitted in the new liturgy, many also were retained. Still better things were intended than were ever carried into effect. This policy of a *gradual advance* will be brought to view hereafter.[2]

Such were the main features of the ecclesiastical reformation, at the date of Hooper's introduction to the royal Court. An important though partial advance had been made toward purity of doctrine and worship. A great innovation had been effected upon the paganism of the Romish Church.

It is not surprising, that at this time many of the common people — superstitiously attached as they were to the old religion and its forms — should be disturbed by the novelties just introduced. The Romish priests, taking advantage of the popular prejudices and of the oppressions of the lords, had represented the secular grievances of the laboring classes as occasioned by their religious, and had thus instigated and propelled the insurrections mentioned, in the progress of which the restoration of the old religion had been demanded. Though the disturbers of the realm had been subdued, the fever of their fanaticism still burned. To allay it as far as possible, the Court constituted the six royal chaplains missionaries itinerant, to preach in rotation through all the shires; four of them to be thus engaged, while the other two should be about the Court.[3]

[1] McCrie's Knox, 409.
[2] Pierce's Vindication, p. 10.
[3] Heylin's Ref., 95. Burnet, II. 273. Strype's Grindal, 7. Strype's Memorials, III. 521.

It was under this arrangement, apparently, that Doctor Hooper was sent to exert his powerful eloquence "in reconciling the people to the Reformation." It was his aim to effect this by removing their deplorable ignorance of the Gospel; by showing the worthlessness of Popish mummeries; by disclosing the great doctrine of atonement, not by acts of merit or of penance, but by the sacrifice made by Christ of himself "once for all." In this way he labored several months, with untiring diligence and apostolic fervor.

Soon after, an event occurred, insignificant in itself, but memorable as the germ of opinions which have shaken England to its centre, and shaped the destinies of this Western World.

# CHAPTER III.

## THE FIRST PURITAN.

HOOPER APPOINTED BISHOP. — OBJECTS TO THE MODE OF CONSECRATION. — SUMMONED BEFORE THE COUNCIL. — OBJECTS TO THE OATH OF SUPREMACY. — HIS OBJECTION ALLOWED. — OBJECTS TO THE EPISCOPAL GARMENTS. — ARCHBISHOP CRANMER. — THE QUESTION OF THE GARMENTS DISCUSSED. — HOOPER'S OBJECTIONS DISALLOWED BY THE BISHOPS. — THE CONTROVERSY IS EXTENDED. — HOOPER RESTRAINED FROM PREACHING. — IS CONFINED TO HIS HOUSE. — IS COMMITTED TO CRANMER'S CUSTODY. — IS SENT TO PRISON. — PLOTS AGAINST HIS LIFE. — THE DIFFERENCE COMPROMISED. — HOOPER CONSECRATED. — HOOPER IN HIS BISHOPRIC, AND IN HIS FAMILY.

### 1550, 1551.

HAMPTON Court, after it became a demesne of the crown, had always been free of access to the people whenever occupied by the royal family. The gates stood open during the day; and, when the season and the sunshine were inviting, there were often a great many there, — from the courtier in his gay apparel, to the unpretending peasant in his holiday dress, — watching to see their princes. Such continued to be the custom until Queen Mary, in 1554, immediately upon her marriage with Philip of Spain, shut her gates upon her plebeian subjects, requiring of all such applicants for admission a satisfactory account of their errands.

About the middle of June, 1550,[1] there was an

[1] Owing to the apparent variations of different writers, and their omission of minute dates, it is difficult to be assured of the precise

unusual concourse of different classes of the commonalty about the palace of Hampton Court, whither the king had lately returned from Windsor.[1] It was about an hour past noon, and an hour and a half since everybody had dined, — unless, perchance, the grandees within the palace might have lingered awhile over their muscadel, sack, and malmsey. Be that as it may, no one in sight had a hungry look; yet all had a grave one, as though they shared in the cares of the state. Instead of strolling about, or lounging at their ease, they were gathered in little knots here and there; the women making a great show in three-cornered Minivor caps, with high peaks of dazzling whiteness, or of various-colored velvets; while the men, in knit caps, silk "thrombd" hats, or Spanish felts, had a less stately appearance.[2]

Servitors of the royal household, with their laced doublets, tight breeches, and slashed sleeves, stood at different entrances of the palace. At a little

order of events in this affair of Hooper. Burnet (II. 242) says that his commission was issued in July. Yet (in III. 303) he gives the date of the appointment in June, and proves it. Neal also (I. 52) says July. Both say that Hooper did not yield until the following March, "the matter being in suspense *nine* whole months"; which also fixes the beginning of the controversy in June. Strype, more consistent, says that Hooper "was nominated in July, but was not consecrated till *eight* months after." A letter of Hooper, dated June 29th, (see Burnet, III. 303,) says that he had then been named to be bishop; that he had then *declined* the office; and that he had then stated his reasons to the king; which, according to Burnet (III. 305), he did in presence of the Privy Council. I do not find the precise time of his appearance before the king and Council given by any of the many authorities which I have consulted. With some hesitation I have assigned it, in the text, to "about the middle of June"; which perhaps is a slight anachronism. It is of little importance, however, while the facts themselves are so clearly and uniformly attested.

[1] Burnet, II. 220.

[2] Stow, 870, 1039.

distance without, stood a party whose persons and costumes may serve as specimens of the motley concourse. One wore a doublet of buff and crimson tissue, puckered and distended around the body, — a contrivance of the day by which lean folks aped corpulence, which then stood in lieu of consequence and dignity. This under-garment was surmounted by a claret-colored mantle of tufted taffety, with sleeves artistically swollen to keep the doublet in countenance.[1] Another was covered with a coarse but clean frock or tunic of woollen, shaped like a shirt, gathered at the middle, and secured about the waist by a leathern girdle. From this girdle were suspended, on one side, a short dagger, and on the other a large pouch, which served the stout yeoman instead of pockets. A third — a youth — wore the plain sad-colored gown and the cap of a scholar. Such were the different classes of persons visible outside the palace. They were gathered here and there in groups, as acquaintanceship or chance had drawn them together. All were engaged in earnest conversation. Some were expressing their wonder that good Master Hooper should refuse to be a bishop. Some were venturing wise conjectures, in an oracular way, for the satisfaction of their hearers, to account for so strange a fact. Of their discourses, relating as they did to an affair of the Church, it is sufficient to say that they consisted, in large part, of confused, and even ludicrous, citations of the precepts and facts of Holy Writ. These were sufficient, however, to show two particulars about the common

[1] Simple taffety was made of hose. Tufted taffety was a peculiar fabric of *silk*. (Stow, 867.)

*wool*, and served Henry VIII. for

people, — their comparative ignorance of the Bible,[1] and their great reverence for it as the standard of appeal.

This out-of-door gossip indicated, more truly than is usual in such cases, the subject then before the Privy Council within the palace. Hooper, by his fervent preaching and great learning, had won the esteem and public patronage of the Earl of Warwick, whose chaplain he had become,[2] and whose star political was now in the ascendant. At his recommendation, the king had issued letters appointing Hooper — "without any seeking of his own" — to the bishopric of Gloucester, which was then vacant.[3] But Hooper — having serious objections to being consecrated in the garments required

[1] The following anecdote, whether regarded as a literal fact or merely as a story befitting the times, illustrates the crude and confused knowledge of many of the people respecting the Scriptures; especially if we consider the proverb, "Like priest, like people." It was given by Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, in his "Harbor for Faithful Subjects," published at Strasburgh, during Queen Mary's reign, in answer to Knox's "First Blast of the Trumpet." "In answer to Knox's argument from Isaiah's words, 'I will give you boys and women to reign over you,' Aylmer said, 'it was not meant of boys in age, but in manners; or of women in sex, but in feebleness of spirit.' And he added, 'This argument ariseth from wrong understanding. As the Vicar of Trumpington understood Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani, when he read the Passion upon Palm-Sunday. Coming to which place he stopped, and calling the church-wardens, said, 'Neighbors, this gear must be amended. Here is Eli twice in this book. I assure you if my lord of Ely come this way and see it, he will have the book (since his name is in it). Therefore by mine advice we shall scrape it out, and put in our own town's name, viz. Trumpington, Trumpington, lama sabacthani.' They consented, and he did so, because he understood no better.'" — Strype's Aylmer, 289.

[2] Fuller, Bk. VII. p. 404.

[3] Bishops were made, or appointed, by the king's letters patent only; upon which they were to be consecrated, although it was even held

by the rules of the Church,[1] and also to the oath to be taken upon his induction to office — requested the Archbishop to consecrate him without the episcopal habits, and was refused.[2] The Council, anxious for harmony between men so prominent in

that consecration was superfluous after the creative act of the crown. (Macaulay, I. 52, N. York 8vo edit. 1849.)

Upon the abolition of the Papal power, the *show* of an election by the deans and chapters was continued by a law of 25 Henry VIII.; but they had been obliged under the severest penalties to choose whom the king named. But by 1 Edward VI. cap. 2 (1547), the election of bishops was transferred wholly from the deans and chapters to the crown. (Collier, V. 227, 228. Rapin, II. 10. Carte, III. 215. Burnet, II. 8, 68, 70. Lingard, VII. 23.) The act sets forth that all authority of jurisdiction, spiritual and temporal, is derived from the king's majesty as supreme head of these churches. (Collier, V. 231.) The king's patents ran at first: "To A. B. during his natural life." But in 1552, they were changed thus: "To A. B. so long as he shall behave himself well." Burnet has reversed this change (II. 8).

Thus the bishops were chosen by the king, and consecrated at his command. They ruled the churches, conferred orders, and administered the sacraments, as his ministers; acted only as his ecclesiastical sheriffs; and might be deprived of their sees by a bare act of his will. (Heylin's Ref., 51. Rapin, II. 10, 24. Burnet, I. 429. Pierce, 8.) Each bishop, at his induction to office, was required to take the oath of supremacy, acknowledging the sovereign as head of the Church.

[1] "He refused to wear such robes at his consecration as by the rules of the Church were required of him. And by the rules of the Church it was required, that for his ordinary habit he should wear the rochet and chimere, with a square cap upon his head; and not officiate at the altar without his cope, or perform any ordination without his crosier. Encouraged by his refusal, many of the inferior clergy take the like exceptions against caps and surplices, as also against gowns and tippets, the distinct habits of their order." — Heylin's Presb., Bk. I. Sec. 20; Bk. VI. Sec. 7.

"Although the question raised concerned only the single matter of the episcopal robes, yet the party, at the head of which were John Rogers, Lecturer in St. Paul's, and John Hooper, renounced all ceremonies practised by the Papists, conceiving that such ought not only to be clipt with the shears, but to be shaved with a razor; yea, all the stumps thereof to be pluckt out." — Fuller, Bk. VII. p. 402.

[2] Heylin's Ref., 90. Fuller, Bk. VII. p. 402. Burnet, II. 242, 243; III. 303.

the Church, had summoned Hooper before them, hoping to obviate his scruples.[1]

The Council-chamber was hung around with tapestry of Arras, whose inwoven figures, set in gorgeous colors, formed a striking contrast to all else in the apartment, save the personal apparel of the company and the decorations of the royal seat. The floor, indeed, had its rare luxury of carpet; but there were only rude oaken chairs, and a long, massive oaken table for the accommodation of the lords, at one end of which sat King Edward beneath the canopy of state. His chair was covered with crimson damask, and richly ornamented; and before him, upon the table, lay a cushion of crimson velvet, bound with edging of gold. He wore a velvet cap, plumed and jewelled, and a gold chain about his neck. His gown, of scarlet striped with gold, descended to his knees, and was confined about the waist by a white-satin sash. The sleeve, with a golden clasp at the wrist, was open to the shoulder, exposing an under-sleeve of rich white satin. His hose and shoes were of scarlet satin.[2] On his right hand sat Lord St. John, the President of the Council, the most distinguished of whom were Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Tonstal, the Bishop of Duresme (or Durham), the Earl of Southampton, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Warwick, afterwards created Duke of Northumberland, and noted as father-in-law of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. Against the Duke of Somerset, the cabals of his associates had been so far successful,

[1] Burnet, III. 304.

[2] Strickland's Queens of Eng., V. 41, 42.

that he had been deprived of the Protectorship and committed to the Tower, though recently liberated and now of the Privy Council.[1]

The young king's face, usually mild and winning, was slightly ruffled and flushed. "It hath pleased us," said he, addressing himself with some spirit to Doctor Hooper, "to issue letters under our royal seal appointing you to our bishopric of Gloucester. We have not proffered you this sacred dignity for your own sake, but for Christ's; for the sake of the Church which is his body; that the gifts of God that are in you may have larger range. And now you demur! We are told that you do scruple the oath and the vestments of a bishop. We do take it grievously, reverend father."

"My gracious liege," replied Hooper, "I honor and love my king; I would live and die for the Church. I humbly crave — hath your Grace's Highness considered the bishop's oath of supremacy?"

"Marry! no; save that it doth avouch the king to be head of the English Church; and that, we trow, Doctor Hooper will not gainsay. Prithee! reverend father, what be the matter with the oath? and what be the matter with the vestments? You mislike both, yet you be no Papist. Tell us, in plain English, your mislikings."[2]

"I thank God," said Hooper, looking upward, and in a tone of impressive solemnity, "that I answer to a prince whose understanding is above his years, and who respecteth the honest misgivings of the weakest Christian. *Imprimis*, I demur to the oath

[1] Burnet, II. 215–226. Hume, II. 492–494.

[2] Burnet, III. 303.

of supremacy. I cannot take it with a good conscience."

1803486

The king, the prelates, the secular nobles — all started at this announcement, and looked at Doctor Hooper and at one another as if doubting their own ears; for although it was known that he took exceptions to the oath, no one was prepared for his refusal of it. After a brief silence, the king, glancing around the circle, said half jocosely, "My Lords, our elect bishop is in some rare humor to day. We might dream him playful were not the occasion so grave. We wait till he unriddle his words."

"Nay, nay, your Majesty," rejoined Hooper eagerly, "I be open and serious as befitteth the occasion. It be not for lack of loyalty, or for cavil at the king's supremacy, that I do scruple the oath; but for store of conscience. I do of a truth mislike that by the oath one sweareth to conform to what he knoweth not of; to whatever the king's highness may perchance *alter* in religion, — which to my seeming maketh so much of his certain rightness as belongeth only to God. Howbeit, for my so great trust in your Majesty's known and sure revence for God's Word, and for that the oath bindeth only to your Majesty's life — which God preserve! — and not to another's, this I yield. Nevertheless, there remaineth that in the substance and form of the oath which toucheth not your Majesty's godly honesty, and of which I confess a very reverent jealousy. Doth it not savor of dishonor to God? Doth not the appeal of it put his creatures as his peers? Its words be, 'So help me God, and all

his angels and saints.'[1] A Papist will appeal to angels and saints to witness his sincerity, and grant him help. But to me it seemeth impious."

"Is that so?" said Edward gravely, and half doubtingly. At the same time he signalled to the Archbishop for a book which lay before him. There was not a whisper or a movement around the Council-board while the king, opening the leaves, looked at the oath, pressed his hand upon his brow as was his wont when burdened with matters of moment, and was absorbed in silent thought. At last, taking a pen, he deliberately drew it across the objectionable words,[2] and exclaimed, "*Ma foi!* shall we harbor Romish blasphemy, my Lords? No creature is to be appealed to in an oath!" Then, passing the book: "There! Doctor Hooper cannot object now. We commend your scruples, and are beholden for the opening of our eyes."

"I was right," replied Hooper in a tone of gladness, "in trusting to your Majesty's discernment. I object not to the oath, so changed."

"*Now* you will be a bishop!" and the young king's ingenuous face sparkled. But the next instant, catching the expression of Hooper's eye, his countenance fell. "Hold! we bethink you spake of the sacred vestments."

"Please your Majesty, the laws of the Church require a bishop to be consecrated, and to officiate in garments which, I ween, become not an office so holy."

[1] I rely on Fuller's citation of this oath (Worthies, III. 92, 93), as the only one which I find having evidence of sense. As stated in Burnet, III. 305, Carte, III. 253, and Neal, I. 52, it is very odd.

[2] Burnet, III. 305. Brook, I. 7, 8. Carte, III. 253. P. S. Memoir, xii.

"Mis-be-come — the office!" exclaimed the king, in deliberate amazement. "Mis-be-come — the office! Heaven forefend!"

"To my thinking, gracious king, their fashion mal-suiteth the ministers of Christ."

"Odds my life, sir! art nice on the cut of a surplice, a chimere, a rochet?"

"God forbid!" replied Hooper devoutly; "but it seemeth to me that our array should be suiting the simplicity of the Gospel."

"Good father, it hath always been in use."

"By your Highness's favor, not so. These vestments are the inventions of men, introduced into the Church in its corruptest ages. The bishops' wearing of these white rochets began first of Sisimius, a heretic bishop of the Novatians; and these other have the like foundation. They have no countenance, methinks, in the New Testament, or in the usage of the primitive Christians. But they have been so long continued, and pleased Popery, which is beggarly patched up of all sorts of ceremonies, that they could never be rooted out since, even from many professors of the truth."

"Heigh-ho! My lord of Canterbury, is that so?"

Cranmer was a princely Christian; his errors, like chance rents in a royal robe; his rare and sterling virtues, like a diadem on a royal brow. His body perished at the stake. So, perhaps, perish some of his deeds[1] when tried as by fire; but his good-

[1] In penning these words, I had reference to the charge against Cranmer, of vehemently urging, and prevailing with, the young king to sign a warrant for the burning of Joan Boucher, otherwise called Joan of Kent. I have since met with a paragraph in the Parker Society's

ness — like his heart, unscathed and entire in his ashes[1] — survives the test. In the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, he shone as a light in the world. Surrounded by men of the

Biographical Notice of Roger Hutchinson (pp. iv., v.), to which I refer with pleasure as removing this stigma from the name of Cranmer. It would seem from the very records of Council, that King Edward had nothing whatever to do with signing the death-warrant; but the Council only. Hallam, in referring to this paragraph in the Memoir of Hutchinson, says, "Perhaps it is better that the whole anecdote should vanish from history"; yet he retains it in his own text.

"A warrant, dated April 27th, was issued by order of Council to the Lord Chancellor, to make out a writ to the Sheriff of London for her execution. These are the words of the Council Book. The Archbishop of Canterbury *was not then present* at the Council Board." — Strype's Memorials, III. 335. See also IV. 183, 184.

Lingard (VII. 74, note) replies to Strype thus: "But that he" (Cranmer) "was present, and actually pronounced the judgment, appears from his own Register, folio 74, 5." This counter statement is, at first view, perplexing. But a satisfactory answer has been politely furnished to me by Professor C. C. Jewett, of the Boston City Library, in the words following: —

"I have examined the note of Lingard (VII. 74), to which you have called my attention. It seems to me plain that he confounds the proceedings of two entirely distinct tribunals respecting Joan of Kent; namely, those of the *Commissioners* appointed 'ad inquirendum super hæretica pravitate,' and those of the *Privy Council*.

"The Commissioners sentenced Joan to excommunication, and delivered her over to the secular arm, on the 15th of April, 1549. The Council, a year afterwards, 27th April, 1550, signed the warrant for her execution.

"Cranmer was a member of both bodies. He was present with the Commissioners, and signed their sentence against Joan. This appears by his Register, folio 74, 5. He was not present with the Council when the warrant was issued for her execution. This appears by the entry in the Council Book, which is quoted in the Biographical Notice of Roger Hutchinson, prefixed to his Works, published by the Parker Society, p. v., note.

"Strype asserted that Cranmer 'was not present at her condemnation, as appears by the Council Book,' that is, at her condemnation to death by the Council. To this Lingard replies, 'that he was present, and actually pronounced the judgment, appears from his own Register, folio 74, 5.' But Cranmer's Register contains, in the passage referred to, the proceedings

[1] Fox, II. 99. Fuller's Worthies, II. 570.

fiercest passions, he had ever been mild and gentle; often disarming, by a look or a word, the jealousy and wrath of a most despotic prince. Among men whose greatest aim and daily craft was dissimulation, he was ingenuous and guileless as a child. He never cloaked an opinion, disowned a friend, or denied forgiveness of a wrong. "The way to get his favor was — to do him an injury." It had passed into a common proverb, "Do unto my lord of Canterbury displeasure, or a shrewd turn, and then you may be sure to have him your friend while he liveth." He had stood godfather to him who was now his liege in church and state,[1] and had cherished for him alike the love of a father and the reverence of a subject. The youthful monarch's words, "My lord of Canterbury, is it so?" were, therefore, like an appeal to an oracle. He was now sixty years of age; his figure erect, venerable, apostolic; his head, bald; his beard, — for no razor had come upon it since Henry's death, — of the finest texture, white and long. When such an one spake in the Council of the nation, he was a bold man who could speak against him.[2]

of the Commissioners, and not those of the Council. It gives nothing of the proceedings of the Council, which 'appear by the Council Book,' and are alluded to by Strype.

"It may be proper to add, that the Registers of the Archbishops of Canterbury from A.D. 1278 to 1747 are in manuscript, and are preserved in the Lambeth Library, in 68 vols. The continuations are in the Vicar-General's Office in Doctors' Commons. But the passage referred to by Lingard is copied in full in Wilkins's Concilia, IV. 42, 43."

The inquisitive reader will be repaid by comparing this opinion of Professor Jewett with the Biographical sketch of Roger Hutchinson, referred to above, and written by John Bruce, Esquire.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, 142. Collier, V. 177.

[2] Fox, III. 637, 671. Strype's Cranmer, 429. Burnet, I. 403, 528; II. 521 – 523.

To the king's question he honestly replied: "My gracious liege, I cannot gainsay it. Yet, methinks, the vestments so long sanctioned by the Church, and still enjoined by her laws, should be respected and retained by her clergy. They have descended to us through many generations."

"Our venerable Primate answereth truly," replied Hooper. "Yet the usage of generations is not sufficient warrant in religious matters."

"I' faith! this be an odd question and a new," said Edward. "We marvel at it. Talk it out; talk it out, reverend sirs. We would understand it."

"I do humbly conceive, an it please your Majesty," said the Archbishop, "that in matters of faith, tradition is not authority. But touching rites and ceremonies, long usage seemeth a good argument for their continuing."

"Such a rule reacheth too far for *our* use," replied Hooper. "It bringeth his Grace under doom; it bringeth your Majesty under doom; it bringeth us all under doom;—for we have abolished offering incense to images and praying to saints, which are Popish rites as old as Popish garments. An the garments ought to be retained because they are old, why not incense to images, and prayers to saints?"

"They be idolatrous and sinful," rejoined Cranmer.

"So, I aver, are sacrificial robes on our clergy," retorted the bishop elect; "for they utter a lie and suppose an idol. I beseech your Majesty to consider this," he continued with earnestness. "These garments of the clergy be the scarlet woman's livery. Avaunt with her badges!"

"The cope, the surplice, the cap, the tippet, are enjoined by the rules of the Church," said Cranmer, "and therefore ought to be used; for in themselves they are neither good nor bad. Even if not exactly befitting, they be at least lawful, and required by our laws; therefore they ought not to be refused. That they have been used, or even abused, by the Romish Church, toucheth not the question. *We* use them in a holy service. *We* use them for God's honor, and in God's temple. 'The temple sanctifieth the gold; the altar, the gift,' said Christ. So our holy service sanctifieth the garments."

"Certes! doth not his Grace speak discreetly?" said Edward, turning to Hooper.

"Surely, your Majesty would not have me beg clothes from the Devil's vestry to serve God in!"

"By our halidom, man! thou 'rt mad sure!" exclaimed the king in amazement.

"An it please your Majesty, I 'll e'en say, like Paul, I am not mad, most noble sovereign, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness. His Grace of Canterbury saith that the garments of the clergy be neither good nor bad. In good sooth, he be right. But, an I dispense the sacraments of Christ in a Moslem turban, and wearing on my clerk's robe the Moslem crescent, would not your Majesty *then* think me mad? Would not you judge me to be profaning the service of Christ? Would not the people tear me in pieces? Might I say, The turban and the crescent are neither good nor bad? Might I say, The temple sanctifieth the turban, — the altar, the crescent? Might I say, The crescent is as good as the cross? God forbid!

But why not? Because the turban and the crescent are badges and symbols of an accursed religion, and they will remain so, though the Church do make a thousand laws contrarient.[1] Yet in itself, the turban is nothing; in itself, the crescent is nothing. If, then, I minister in a Romish scarf and a Romish cope, what do I better? They too are badges and symbols of a false religion."

King Edward passed his hand slowly across his brow, and said, with a sigh, "On my life! what shall a youth do when the doctors differ? God help us!"

"Amen!" responded Hooper. "My gracious liege, it is fit, I ween, that the ministers of the cross be so clad as to designate their office. I would that they should be. But I would have them clad as becometh the Gospel, not in the uniform of the Pope; as becometh the doctrine of the Gospel, not the doctrine of devils."

"Prithee, good doctor, what next?" asked the king, nervously. "The doctrine of devils in a bishop's robes! Your meaning, reverend sir?"

"With all humility and honesty, my liege. The garments required by the rules of the Church are *more* than the symbols of a false faith. They are badges of a priesthood. Aaron was a priest, offering the sacrifice of atonement foreshadowing that of Christ. His robes were part of the ceremony of sacrifice; peculiar to his priestly office; and proper, because appointed by God himself. But the priesthood of Aaron is done away by Christ's sacrifice of himself once for all. The like badges,

[1] Compare Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. Appendix, Bk. I. No. XII.

adopted by the Church of Rome, have implied a like sacrificing act by those who have worn them. They have implied a sacrificial atonement in the Lord's Supper; which is a lie and a blasphemy. They have implied that the elements of the Supper were very God, and to be adored as God; which is abominable idolatry and a doctrine of devils. Thus the garments *belong*, not to the pure worship of God, but to idol-worship. They are a part of it."

"Which argueth too much," interposed Cranmer; "for a former abuse of these vestments is no better reason for taking away their use, than it is to throw down churches, or take away bells, because they have been used for the idolatries and false doctrines of Rome. Would Doctor Hooper deal with these two, as he proposeth to deal with the episcopal garments? Why not?"

"As fast as either one of you taketh his stand like a man, the other trippeth him up," exclaimed the young monarch. "How now, good Doctor Hooper?"

"An it please your Majesty," replied Hooper, "the whole truth is not yet told. I have said, that the vestments be symbols of Antichrist. I have said, that they have been abused to idolatry. I now say, that they be yet abused to idolatry, and will continue to be; which is not true of churches or bells. They who be not yet weaned from the idol doctrine of transubstantiation, be sustained therein by the use of garments which do denote a priesthood and a sacrifice. Albeit they be only dumb rags, they be written all over, 'Mass! Mass!' Moreover, the people do still think them to have a

magical effect upon the bread and the wine of the Supper, as transforming the elements into Christ, to be worshipped and sacrificed afresh as their propitiation. In using the garments, we do therefore cherish their superstition and invite their idolatry. Besides, they fancy that there resideth in this Aaronical gear a sanctifying property which giveth efficacy to the prayers, so that prayers or any other divine service would be vain without them. In fine, your Highness, they regard them with religious awe and reverence, as if even the garments themselves did partake of divine holiness, — just as they have regarded images, and such like, which, for that very reason, your Majesty hath removed from the churches.[1] In your royal father's day, there were certain pretended relics, — quantities of the Virgin Mary's milk, shrined in no less than eight different places; the coals which roasted Saint Lawrence; a bottle of the darkness of Egypt; the spear — half a score of them, I trow — that pierced our Saviour. Then there was the Rood of Boxley, commonly called the Rood of Grace, an old rotten stock wherein a man should stand enclosed, with an hundred wires within the Rood to make the image goggle with the eyes, to nod with the head, to hang the lip, to move and shake his jaws, according as the value was of the gift offered to it. If it were a small piece of silver, he would hang a frowning lip and pout; if it were a piece of gold, then would his jaws go merrily.[2] There was also the Rood

[1] Stow, 595. Heylin's Ref., 42.

[2] "The Rood of Boxley, a fraud of machinery detected, in 1538, by one Nicholas Patridge. The image was exhibited with its wheel-work at Maidstone and London, to the

of Bermondsey Abbey in Southwark, which did behave after the same marvellous fashion. To all these things the people did render religious homage, and therefore they were destroyed; the Roods, in the very year of your Majesty's birth, — fit omen, God grant! of your Majesty's reign.[1] If the idolizing of fantastical relics and impostures in King Henry's day, and the idolizing of images in your Majesty's day, — all which things were in themselves neither good nor bad, — be counted good reason for their destruction, may I not in good faith scruple to wear, in Christ's name, a garment which also is idolized?

"But the laws of the Church require the rochet, the chimere, and the crosier, and God's Word doth not forbid them. Be it so. Nor doth God's Word require them; and it be my most solemn conviction, that in religion the Church hath no right to require, nor we a right to adopt, *any* custom which hath religious significance or effect, and which hath not the very warrant and sanction of the Scripture. Master Calvin's rule be a godly one and discreet, — that in carrying on the work of a reformation, there is not anything to be exacted which is not warranted and required by the Word of God; that in such cases there be no rule left for worldly wisdom, but all things are to be ordered only as

infinite amusement of all classes. It had been famous for ages all over England; and people came from the most distant parts of the country to gaze at it. By order of Council, it was brought to Paul's Cross and elevated to public view. (Stow, 575.) Admiration, rage, astonishment, seized the people, and mortification at having been cheated. A great outcry was raised; the idol was pulled about, broken in pieces, and burnt." — Knight's London, I. 47, 48, Lond. edit. 1851.

[1] Fox, II. 512. Heylin's Ref., 9, 10. Neal, I. 35. Hume, II. 393.

directed by God's will revealed.[1] Moreover, there be that of richness and pomp in the episcopal raiment which dazzleth the eyes of the people, and breaketh their devoutness; which would not be, were the habit plain and in Gospel simplicity. Albeit my conscience be weak, I pray your Majesty to favor it. Spare me, gracious prince, from doing in God's name what I think doth cherish idolatry in others. God grant you to see this as I see it; for upon whatever your Majesty ordaineth, being supreme head on earth of the English Church, dependeth the soul-weal of your subjects. And thus I lay my prayer at your Majesty's feet."[2]

Thus did Hooper plead against those relics of Popery which the Reforming Church of England had retained. Nor was his pleading without effect; the King and Council, not excepting the Archbishop, felt the force of his reasoning, and were disposed to yield. But others, particularly Ridley, Bishop of London, and Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, insisted that God regardeth not the outward appearance; that the fashion of a garment is a matter of utter indifference as a question of right or wrong; and that, therefore, the laws concerning the vestments ought to be insisted upon.

Under these embarrasments, Hooper obtained, and presented with his own hands to Cranmer, a letter from the Earl of Warwick, dated July 23d, interceding that the rules of the Church might be

[1] Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 3. Worthies, III. 93. Collier, V. 388–390. Pierce, 44. Burnet, II. 243. Neal, I. 47, 51, 52. Parker Society's Biog. Sketch of Hooper, xii.

[2] For the several points made between Cranmer and Hooper, see Strype's Cranmer, 213. Fuller's

waived; to which the Archbishop objected in reply, that he could not dispense with the rules without being in danger of the penalty of a *præmunire*. Hooper then petitioned the king that he might be excused from the ceremonial orders, or be discharged of his bishopric. The first, Edward immediately granted; at the same time writing to Cranmer, August 5th, warranting him as follows: ". . . . . From consecrating of whom, we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit certain Rites and Ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye thinke, you should fall in Præmunire of Laws: We have thought good by advice of Our Councel aforesaid, to dispense, and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures you should run into, and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these Our Letters shall be your sufficient warrant, and discharge therefore. Given under Our Signet, at our Castle of Windsor, the fourth year of Our Reign."

But here was no command to proceed in the premises; and the bishops still held their position. They objected, that Hooper was unreasonably scrupulous about trifles; that "the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves"; that dispensing with the required apparel would reflect odium upon the Church which required it; that a law should not be lightly suspended to humor an individual; that, although they themselves wished the pomp of the episcopal habits were done away, yet dispensing with an existing law would be a bad precedent and have bad consequences; but especially, that the king's private will, although

sanctioned by advice of Council and by the royal seal, could not free them from the obligations and penalties of his public will, as expressed in the laws.[1]

Ridley held warm and repeated discussions with Hooper upon the question at issue. The controversy became an exciting one. Foreigners were enlisted in it; — Peter Martyr, of the University of Oxford; Martin Bucer, of Cambridge; Bullinger and Gualter, in Switzerland; John Alasco and Micronius, in London.[2] The two latter encouraged Hooper in

[1] Fox, III. 146, 147. Strype's Cranmer, 211. Fuller, Bk. VII. p. 403. Heylin's Ref., 90, 91; Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 7. Camden's Elizab., 309. Collier, V. 387. Burnet, II. 245, 246; III. 304–306. Carte, III. 253. Neal, I. 52. Parker Society's Mem. of Hooper, xii., xiii.

[2] These foreigners residing in England merit more than the passing notice in the text. Soon after the accession of Edward, Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, had been invited by Cranmer to take refuge in England from the religious persecution to which they were exposed in Germany. Bucer and Martyr were appointed teachers of evangelical doctrines in the Universities; the former, at Cambridge; the latter, at Oxford. (Fox, II. 654. Holingshed, IV. 742, 743. Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 2. Strype's Cranmer, 196–198. Strype's Whitgift, 389. N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register, V. 150.)

There were many other Protestant refugees in England, from France and Germany. Among them, Valeran Polan, who had fled from Strasburg, "a man of great worth and integrity"; and John Alasco (or à Lasco), uncle to the king of Poland. (Fox, III. 40.) For a full account of these men and their position in England, see Strype's Cranmer, Bk. II. Chapters XXII., XXIII.; Heylin's Ref., 89; and Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 4.

In 1550, through the influence of Cecil, Cheeke, and Cranmer, these strangers were allowed to form distinct religious congregations. "John Alasco stipulated for a secure retreat and competent provision for himself and flock; assuring the Duke of Somerset that it would introduce new trade and gainful manufacture. He desired that they might be incorporated by the king's letters patent, with certain privileges; and obtained a pension of one hundred pounds a year, with a patent of naturalization for himself, his wife, and children. A charter was passed, July 24th, constituting the German refugees a body corporate, under the direction of Alasco their superintendent" (bishop) "and four other ministers, with power to increase their numbers and choose their successors, if

his refusal. The others, unwilling that a preacher of so much worth should be silenced, and that scandal of quarrel should pertain to the cause of the Reformation, advised him to suffer the ecclesiastical vestments while required by law, although they also regarded them as unchristian inventions. Hooper, however, continued of the same mind; while the bishops would neither consent to release him from office, nor to consecrate him without the

the king approved the choice. The Church of the Augustine Friars, its soil, site, and appurtenances, were granted them for holding their religious assemblies; and they were authorized to use their own rites and ceremonies in the worship of God, and to exercise their own ecclesiastical discipline, though they differed from the government and forms of worship established in the Church of England. A shoal of Germans, Poles, and other foreigners, upon this encouragement, and the privileges of naturalization enabling them to trade with the same freedom and advantages as the natives, came over to London, and settled in different parts of the city.

"Another church of strangers, mostly Wallons and French, with Valeran Polan, their spiritual superintendent" (pastor), "settled at the same time in Glastenbury (Strype's Memorials, III. 378, McCrie, 98, note), under protection of Somerset, with a grant of the site and demesnes of that dissolved abbey. These, being weavers and workers in kerseys and the like cloths, served to introduce that manufacture into the country.

"A French congregation, and another of Italians, were likewise set up in London, subject to Alasco's inspection, whose jurisdiction or superintendency extended over all the churches of foreigners in the city, and over their schools of learning and education. The motive of the government in granting these privileges was, compassion for strangers persecuted and denied the exercise of religion in their own country." — Carte, III. 251, 252.

Alasco himself states another reason, of more interest to the student of the English Reformation: "King Edward desired that the rites and ceremonies used under Popery should be purged out by degrees; that strangers should have churches to perform all things according to apostolic injunction only, *that by this means the English churches might be excited to embrace apostolic purity with the unanimous consent of the estates of the kingdom.*" (Neal, I. 55, 56. McCrie, 412.)

"The Archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops were forbidden to cite them into their courts." — Collier, V. 386.

offensive robes. So the difference remained; — the sticklers for laws which they disapproved, on the one side; the dissenter from laws which he thought conducive to idolatry, on the other.[1]

Who contended for trifles, — Hooper, who objected to the use of garments which tended to idolatry, or they who would enforce their use for the sake of extorting obedience? Hooper, who did not crave to be bishop, or they who would neither let him be bishop without the robes, nor let him be no bishop? Hooper, who did not crave to be bishop, or they who, for the sake of a cap with corners and a cope with tassels, would compel him?

What was to be done? The bishops could not recede, after having taken such ground, without suffering in reputation. So they persuaded the Council to insist; to put the screw of the law upon the elect bishop, and to turn it until he should repent. It is said, too, — but with what reason does not appear, — that they wrought also with the king, until "he grew very angry with Hooper for his unreasonable stiffness."

Hooper, a man of rare boldness and strong feelings, was impelled by this state of things to preach freely in London upon the matters in controversy; doubtless with much vehemence and asperity, for Peter Martyr, to whom he wrote for counsel, after expressing his opinion as stated above, cautioned him against his "unseasonable and too bitter sermons."[2] Whereupon the Council forbade him to

[1] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 7. I. 52. Parker Society's Mem., xii. – Strype's Cranmer, 212. Carte, III. 254. Burnet, III. 304 – 306. Neal, xiv.

[2] I see no reason for the state-

preach or to read divine service without further license; and told him to stay in his own house, except to talk with three or four of the bishops for the sake of being converted. He complained some of this, saying openly, that he thought it rather hard to be plagued so about clothes by men of his own Church, — to lose his liberty because he would not be a bishop and in the fashion. He also published a book upon the subject.

For this conduct and contumacy, the Council pressed harder upon him, and told him, on the 13th of January, 1550–1, to leave his wife and children and live in Cranmer's custody; giving him the choice there to be converted, or to be punished more. Ridley was at the bottom of this, I suppose, — Ridley and Goodrick. Of course Hooper went; but the Archbishop reported that he could in no sort work the man's conversion. When the Council found, on the 27th of the month, that he kept unconverted, they were astonished to find what a hard-hearted man they were trying to make a bishop of. So they wrenched the screw again, and sent him to the Fleet prison, to see what converting virtue there might be in a heavy oaken door with bolts and locks on it, and in a cell with a little grated window in it, and in a lone deal table with a bit of bread and a mug of water on it. The

ment in the Biographical Notice of Hooper by the Parker Society, that he preached against the oath and the vestments *before* his appointment to the bishopric. I find no intimation of the kind in Fox, Heylin, Fuller, Burnet, or any other authority. The charge of "great asperity" on the part of Cranmer, preferred by the same writer, also seems without foundation; and is at variance with the Archbishop's uniform and wonderful gentleness, as attested by all other writers.

gentle Cranmer had nothing to do with his imprisonment, except in reporting the truth to the Council, — which he was required to do. Hooper lay in the Fleet about two months; and it did him no good at all.[1]

It was a cloud of thick darkness all around him now, — of darkness which could be felt. And beyond his prison-bars, out in the deep, deep gloom, were heard counsellings and devisings to end the controversy by tragedy. "An obstinate, disobedient churl! an he repent not, contrive process of law to give him the gallows or the stake!" Such, the Duke of Suffolk sent him word, were the secret purposes against his life. He knew it from other sources also.[2]

At last, after his steady refusal for nine months, a compromise was offered, to which he assented "for the public profit of the Church."[3] He would receive consecration in the usual form; and appear once at least in public attired after the manner of the other bishops.[4] He was accordingly consecrated

[1] Strype's Cranmer, 214 – 216. Carte, III. 253. Burnet, III. 305. Neal, I. 52. P. S. Memoir, xiv., xv.

[2] The statement in the text is on the authority of the following passage in Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 30. "Thus," says Fox, in his Latin Book of Martyrs, but omitted in the English editions, — "thus ended this theological quarrel in the victory of the bishops. . . . . Which unless he had done, there are those who think the bishops would have endeavored to take away his life: for his servant *told me* the Duke of Suffolk *sent such word to Hooper, who was not himself ignorant of what they were doing.*"

Why was this passage suppressed in the English editions of Fox? Why is it so studiously unnoticed by ecclesiastical writers of the Church of England?

[3] Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 173.

[4] Pierce, 30; from the Latin edition of Fox. — Here is another variation between Fox in English, and Fox in Latin. In the English, the language is: "He consented

on the 8th of March,[1] in a long scarlet chimere, or loose robe, down to the foot, a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders, and a "mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts," — "but he took it patiently."[2] "Afterwards when he preached at Court, he did *once* for formality sake appear in a shymar with a white linen rochet under it."[3]

Such was the first clash of arms in the Reformed Church of England. Such were the opinions and spirit of two parties, each of whom, though at truce for a while, never abated their difference, generation after generation. The one — afterwards called the Court Reformers — grew up under the shadow of the throne. The other — afterwards called Puritans, because they sought a purer worship and discipline in the Church — grew to an independent and mighty manhood under the scourgings of a mistress and masters who meant not to educate, but to rule.

Although this skirmish was brief, and was not renewed in Hooper's day, and although "most of the Reforming clergy were with him, — Latimer, John Rogers, Coverdale, and others"[4] — yet, as he was the first of them to spurn the livery of Rome and to imperil himself for purity of worship, he may

sometimes in his sermon to show himself apparelled as the other bishops were." — Fox, III. 147. The terms of the "compromise" as stated in Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 8, in Burnet, II. 264, and in Neal, I. 52, are such that it is difficult to perceive any compromise at all.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, 216, 254.
[2] Fox, III. 146. Neal, I. 53.
[3] Wood's Athenæ Oxon., I. 223.
[4] Pierce, 32, 33. Neal, I. 53.

rightly be called the Father of Puritanism, — a title rarely equalled for honor and greatness, notwithstanding the foibles or the misdeeds of some who have borne the name.

Hooper immediately applied himself with zeal and diligence to the duties of his diocese, to which, about a year[1] after, was added that of Worcester. "No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there, hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools. As he was hated of none but of them which were evil, so yet the worst of them all could not reprove his life in any one jot."[2] In a letter to Bullinger, dated April 3d, 1551, his wife said: "I entreat you to recommend Master Hooper to be more moderate in his labor; for he preaches four, or at least three, times every day; and I am afraid lest these over-abundant exertions should cause a premature decay."[3]

But "neither could his labor and painstaking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, (although divers went about to reprove it,) that no kind of slander could fasten any fault upon him. He was constant of judgment, a good justicer, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time."[4] "Although he bestowed the most of his care upon

[1] P. S. Memoir, xvii.
[2] Fox, III. 148.
[3] Burnet, III. 307, 315. P. S. Memoir, xvii.
[4] Fox, III. 146.

the public flock and congregation of Christ, there lacked no provision to bring up his own children in learning and good manners. In family and bishopric, he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. If you entered his bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the Holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all; no dishonest word, no swearing, could there be heard. His revenues did not greatly exceed; but he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice," continues Fox, "twice, I was, I remember, in his house in Worcester, where in his common hall I saw a table spread with good store of meat and beset full of beggars and poor folk; and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have customably to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served up by four at a mess, with whole and wholesome meats; and when they were served, (being afore examined, by him or his deputies, of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and the ten commandments,) then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before."[1]

Such was the pioneer of the English Puritans.

[1] Fox, III. 148.

# CHAPTER IV.

## THE MARIAN EXILES.

THE HANSE TOWNS. — EXILES ARRIVE AT FRANKFORT. — THEIR KIND RECEPTION. — CHARACTER AND DEATH OF EDWARD VI. — FURTHER REFORM DURING HIS REIGN. — VALERAN POLAN AND WHITTINGHAM. — ESCAPE OF THE PARTY FROM ENGLAND. — VALERAN OFFERS HIS SERVICES. — A PLACE OF WORSHIP SECURED TO THE STRANGERS. — THE LUTHERANS ABHOR THE ENGLISH. — CALVINISTS WELCOME THEM. — CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE EXILES. — THEY WRITE TO THEIR FELLOW-EXILES. — JOHN KNOX. — LOWERING CLOUDS. — DEPUTATION FROM STRASBURG. — GRINDAL AND KNOX DISCUSS KING EDWARD'S BOOK.

### 1554.

THE celebrated Hanseatic League originated with Lubec and Hamburg, about the close of the twelfth century. It soon embraced many other cities in Europe, all situated upon navigable waters, and comprised in the general name of "The Hanse Towns," or "Easterlings." They were associated, under laws enacted by themselves in general representative assemblies, for commercial purposes and for mutual defence against the pirates who then infested the Northern seas. They secured for themselves many valuable privileges in different countries; contended vigorously for the liberties and rights essential to prosperous commerce; sustained successful wars against several monarchs, or formed alliances with them; and became the most powerful confederacy of the kind known in history. This League, which was not dissolved until 1630,

was at about the height of its greatness at the time of which we write.[1] Frankfort on the Maine was then one of the Hanse Towns, a busy mart, and its river a thoroughfare.

On the 27th of June, 1554,[2] from one of the merchant-craft which had just arrived at Frankfort, there came on shore a company whose personal appearance marked them as foreigners and wanderers. They looked at the various objects around them with that diffident interest peculiar to persons in a strange country, and had the look of mild dejection which belongs to the homeless but unrepining. They soon found their way, with their scanty effects, to a neighboring hostelry. The court-yard and public room were filled with men, mules, merchandise, and wassail; but the strangers were welcomed with true German hospitality to retired and comfortable apartments.

"Poor or not poor," said the host to one of them by whom he was engaged in private conversation,—"poor or not poor, I will have my pay to the last mite, sir. But I will get it from the Master, sir. It will be enough if he say unto me in that day, 'Fritz! when you did it unto the least of my brethren, you did it unto me.' Do you think I will risk his saying, 'I was hungry, and you *gave* me no meat; I was thirsty, and you *gave* me no drink; I was a stranger, and you *took* me not in'? Besides, sir, have not the English given shelter and food and raiment to the

[1] Hume, II. 500; III. Appendix III. Robertson's Charles V. (New York edit. 1829), Sec. I. p. 41, and Note 30, p. 556. Gazetteer, word *Hanse*.

[2] "Discours," p. 5.

poor German Protestants whom the Emperor forced to flee? and shall we Germans take money from the English for the same?[1] God forbid! Not a stiver, sir; not a stiver. Ye are all welcome to what ye can find under Fritz Hansen's roof, until ye can find one more to your mind."

"But, mine host," replied the stranger, "we are not destitute. I only spake of our poverty, that you might understand —"

"Not one word about it," interrupted the German; "not one word. Thank God! ye are not yet destitute. But if ye had all India in your purses, sir, it were all the same to Fritz Hansen. Are ye not sheep fleeing from the wolf? They are all wolves that belong to Rome, sir. They come by it naturally, too; for the man that begun Rome was suckled by a wolf."

The stranger had the appearance of a gentleman, and a man of letters, and was the more interesting to his new acquaintance for the manliness and good heart with which he carried himself under circumstances so depressing. He smiled at Fritz's philosophy about the Papal appetite for blood; which emboldened the garrulous old man to say, "As I do not often find one of your countrymen who speaks our tongue, pray tell me, sir, about affairs in England. You speak German very well."

"I learned it four years ago, when I travelled in France and Germany. I returned home only about a year since, just before King Edward's death."[2]

"He was a hearty Protestant, sir."

"Indeed he was; a youth of so godly a disposition

[1] McCrie, 98.

[2] Neal, I. 145. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, V. 150.

toward virtue and the truth of God, that none passed him, and none of his years did ever match him."[1]

"Ay, ay, sir; for it was a fresh young heart, and no one had bruised it. But methinks the fame of his *genius* must have been like a rolling ball of snow. Pray, sir, dost know the truth?"

"Rumor could hardly lie about him, mine host. Nature gave him a large brain, and he did not use it daintily. He did love play as well as any youth, before the cares of the kingdom fell upon him; but he did love study as well. For knowledge of tongues, he did seem rather born than brought up. He was skilled, too, in music, and in philosophy, and in affairs of state. He could tell all the havens, not only in his own realm, but in Scotland, and likewise in France, and knew the channels and soundings of each one, and how served the tide and the wind for entrance. He could talk understandingly about the coining of money, about exchange, and commerce, and fortifications, and foreign affairs, with any of his chiefest men, or with the ambassadors at his Court. He always took notes of the doings of his Council, and of the sermons of his preachers. Withal, he had so great a respect for justice, and especially for poor men's suits, that he would have fixed times and order with Doctor Cox, his Master of Requests, that they might be sped in their causes; and he took great pains himself that they might be judged with equity."[2]

[1] McCrie, 79, note.

[2] Fox, II. 652–654. Rapin, II. 25, note. Carte, III. 279, 280. Burnet, III. 298. Strype's Memorials, III. 426, 523, IV. 49, 126.

"Some such things," said Fritz, "I have heard, but doubted. Truly, sir, he was a wondrous youth. Most, that he did care for the poor, which few princes do. In that, of a surety, he did lay up treasure in heaven; for the Book saith, 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor.'"

"*He* considered them to his dying day. He set on foot several foundations to relieve those of London; and when he subscribed his private gift of four thousand marks a year for one of them, he dropped his pen, lifted his pale face toward heaven, and said, in the presence of his Council, 'Lord! I give thee thanks that thou hast given me life thus long to finish this work to the glory of thy name!' Two days afterwards, he went to heaven.[1] In truth he was a miracle of a youth for capacity, for goodness, for beauty of person, for sweetness of disposition, and for lustre of aspect."[2]

"So young, and so eager to do good,—was he not loth to die, sir?"

"Nay, my friend. A right heart always has its own way; for it wraps up all its child-wishes, as Christ did his, with '*Thy* will be done.' The day on which our good prince died, he whispered words which showed that he was not loth."

"What words, good sir?"

"As nearly as I can remember what was told me, they were these: 'Lord God! deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among

[1] Stow's Survey of London, 592–597. Burnet, II. 352.

[2] Once only, among all the volumes which I have examined, I have found Edward VI. spoken of contemptuously, as "a weak-minded boy." The same writer calls Queen Elizabeth "an old flirt." (Taylor, I. 48, 94.)

thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but thy will, be done. Lord! I commit my spirit to thee! O Lord! thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy chosen sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God! bless thy people and save thine inheritance. O Lord! save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God! defend this realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake.' Three hours after, he exclaimed, 'I am faint! Lord! have mercy upon me, and take my spirit!' And thus he yielded up the ghost, leaving a woful kingdom to his sister."[1]

"Yes, sir, a kingdom full of woe, with *such* a sister. But it was a happy death. Pray, sir, had he swept your Church clean of Popery?"

"No. But he did all that he could, though not all that he intended. He meant to have had religion in England like the religion of the French or the Swiss Protestants, had his life been spared."[2]

"And now all that he did is undone!" exclaimed the publican. "Instead of a good young king, you have a bloody-minded Papist queen!"

"It is too true," replied the Englishman, mournfully. "All Protestants are fortunate who can escape from her. My company and myself have come to save our lives, and to worship God in peace. We hope to earn our living, and to have permission to worship in Frankfort."

"Just thirty years ago, Frankfort embraced the Reformed religion," replied Fritz; "and by authority

[1] Fox, II. 787. Burnet, II. 356.

[2] See note, *ante*, p. 49.

of her magistrates abolished the Mass and other superstitions of Popery;[1] and never yet has she refused home and kindness to persecuted Protestants."

"Ha!" exclaimed the other, musing; "just thirty years! Frankfort was born into the Reformation in the very year that I was born into the world.[2] I will claim refuge of her, then, as my twin in some sort. Are there any English Protestants here now?"

"I think not, sir. There are French Protestants, and they have a church."

"And ministers?"

"Three or four, sir; and one of them is an Englishman. No,—I mistake. He has lived in England, but he is a Fleming born."

"Thank God!" exclaimed the other; "surely he will befriend us! His name, good Fritz?"

"Befriend ye! Why, sir, the man knows what it is to be an exile; and as for brotherly kindness, sir, he hath been to two of the best schools to learn it,—the school of Christ and the school of England; and he knows all about it, sir. Valeran Polan—that is his name, sir—learned his lessons well."

After a little silence and a little murmuring to himself in English, the stranger said: "I certainly have heard the name in England, but further my memory faileth me. Just as I was leaving for my travels, four years ago, there were foreign Protestants there petitioning the king for privileges of domicile, religion, and handicraft, which he granted. As soon as Queen Mary was acknowledged, they were all ordered to leave the kingdom.[3] I think he must

[1] Robertson's Charles V., 183.
[2] Neal, I. 145.
[3] Fox, III. 40. Strype's Cranmer. Neal.

have been one of their ministers. I must see this Master Valeran, mine host. But the day waneth, and we are all weary. So I will rest the night; and in the morning, wilt help me find him?"

"With all my heart; with all my heart. And now go to your friends and be happy. I must put the women to work and the turnspit,—the lazy loons! We must all eat, sir; and in this country, it is very needful."

The warm-hearted old man bustled away, to make preparations for the refreshment of his guests; and the stranger went to cheer his companions with his good tidings.

While yet the controversy with Hooper was in progress, the Privy Council, true to the gradually progressive policy[1] of the king and Cranmer, had made one important change. The dogma of a fresh propitiatory sacrifice of the real body and blood of Christ in each solemnization of the Lord's Supper was implied and sustained by the presence of altars, from which the sacrament was served; for the reception and completion of a sacrifice is the distinctive purpose of an altar. This the English Reformers had perceived; and therefore, to wean the people from the notion of the corporal presence, and to turn them to the right use of the ordinance, it had been ordered that the altars in the churches should be removed, and that tables should be used in their stead. Other innovations had followed. The Liturgy had been again revised, and so improved as to disavow the bodily presence in the sacrament,

[1] Burnet, II. 97.

and also any adoration of it in the act of kneeling when it was administered. It also omitted the doctrine of Purgatory, which in the first Liturgy had been implied by prayers for departed souls; and it forbade the use of all copes and massing-vestments by the clergy. In the first and last of these changes the influence of Hooper's reasonings is apparent. Sundry other rites and ceremonies had been dropped; and a Confession of Faith, in forty-two articles, — since reduced to thirty-nine, — had been framed, and had received the royal sanction. The bishoprics, too, had been generally filled with those friendly to the Reformation.[1]

To these innovations a great part of the nobility,[2] and many of the chief gentry in the House of Commons, were opposed, being Romanists in heart. The ordinary clergy generally, and some of the bishops, were averse to most of them. But a regard to their private estates — which would have been confiscated by opposition — prevailed with the disaffected nobility and gentry; and the punishment of Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, induced the clergy to compliance.[3]

The Reformers, to use their own words, "had gone as far as they could in reforming the Church, considering the times they lived in." Both Cranmer and the king wished, and intended, a further reformation, — a still nearer approach to apostolical

[1] Fox, II. 699, 700. Stow, 604, 608. Heylin's Ref., 95, 107, 108, 121. Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 5. Collier, V. 420. Strype's Cranmer, 272; Memorials, IV. 21, 24. Rapin, II. 21. Carte, III. 255, 268, 269. Burnet, II. 121, 252, 253, 264, 271. Neal, I. 54. Hallam, 59–62.

[2] Strype's Memorials, IV. 69.

[3] Heylin's Ref., 48. Rapin, II. 11, 21. Burnet, II. 112. Hallam, 62.

simplicity in worship, — should circumstances permit. They did not live to perfect their plan; but had, to the last, avoided all abrupt and unnecessary violence to old prejudices, still seeking "to prepare the people by little and little, that they might with more ease and less opposition admit the total alteration in the face of the Church which was intended."[1]

Edward had deceased at Greenwich on the 6th of July, 1553;[2] and Queen Mary had no sooner made her triumphal entrance to the Tower of London, in August, than she gave signs of severity towards those of the Reformed religion. In a few weeks, she had ordered the prompt departure of all foreign Protestants, and had given such other indications of her bloody policy, that hundreds of English — clergymen, noblemen, tradesmen, and common people — hastened to escape for their lives. The exiles had taken refuge in Strasburg, Zurich, Embden, and other places where the Reformed religion was established; but the company whom we have introduced were the first English-born who had taken shelter in Frankfort.[3]

[1] Heylin's Ref., 34, 57. Carte, III. 221. Burnet, II. 97. Neal, I. 55, 56. Hume, II. 463.

[2] Cecil's Journal; Murdin, 745.

[3] The sketches of the disturbances at Frankfort, which are given by Strype, Collier, Pierce, and others, are all derived from a book commonly referred to under the title of "The Troubles at Frankfort." Therefore, in my own account, in this chapter and the next, I make no citations of the writers mentioned, except in a few cases; but fall back entirely upon the same original authority, — the only one which is full and reliable, minute, documentary, and dispassionate. From it I derive all the particulars of those "Troubles," which I have given in these two chapters; making references only to points not readily discoverable in the "Discours" itself. Its true title is "A Brieff Discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Abowte the Booke off common prayer and Cere-

Fritz Hansen was evidently trying hard, not only to minister to the necessities of his guests, but to make them feel that they had found a home. He and his good wife made as much commotion in kitchen and lodging-rooms, were as loud and important towards their servants, as though they had been entertaining the family and retinue of a prince. It was not enough that the strangers were pressed with a bountiful meal; Fritz insisted that they should join his family circle; and leaving them there to while away the twilight of a mild summer evening by telling about their country, and enjoying the sympathy and wonder of their hostess and her gossips, he went away, he said, to the duties of his calling. But the evening had not far advanced[1] when he broke in upon their quiet talk with a companion who wore a plain, scholar-like habit; and turning his bright face to the guest with whom he had before conversed, and rubbing his hands with an air of intense glee, he said abruptly, "My good sir, I have found you Master Valeran Polan; and, Master Valeran, this is — is — this is Master — "

"Whittingham," said the Englishman, extending his hand eagerly to the clergyman.

monies," &c., &c. It was first printed in 1575; reprinted in 1642; again, in the Phœnix, in 1707–8; and yet again, and from the original black-letter edition of 1575, by John Petheram, London, 1846, a copy of which edition is before me. In the Introduction to it is quoted an argument by Professor McCrie of Edinburgh, to show that the writer of the "Discours" was probably Whittingham himself. In the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, V. 314, it is *positively* ascribed to him, but without reasons given. McCrie's reasoning is plausible; perhaps satisfactory.

As a part of Puritan history, the "Discours" is of great value; but its value would be essentially increased by exegetical and historical notes by some competent and painstaking editor.

[1] Discours, p. 5.

"This is very, very kind," continued Whittingham. "Master Valeran, I thank you; we all thank you."

"Master Whittingham is welcome, — welcome, — welcome," said the minister in English, and with a hearty grasp of the hand and a face beaming with benevolence. "The good Lord hath been kind in sending you to my friend Fritz."

Master Valeran Polan looked inquiringly at the new faces before him, which Master William Whittingham interpreting, he introduced him to his friends, — Master Edmond Sutton, Master William Williams, Master Thomas Wood, and "their companies," as the chronicler phrases it.[1] Although personally unknown to them, his name, as a worthy pastor of one of the refugee churches, was familiar to all but Whittingham, whose travels had almost exactly coincided with Valeran's residence in England. To avoid persecution under Charles V. in Strasburg, he had taken refuge in Glastenbury, in Somersetshire, in 1550;[2] and to avoid the like under Mary, he had taken second refuge in Frankfort, in the autumn of 1553. In each instance, like a good shepherd, he had taken his flock with him.[3] Great was the joy of the new-comers to meet, in a strange city, one who spake their own language, and whom they could trust for counsel and friendly service.

After congratulating them with true heartiness upon their safe arrival, Master Valeran inquired, "How did you get from England? You could not come by passport of French people or of German people under color of being their servants; for the

[1] Discours, p. 5.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 48, 49, note.

[3] McCrie, 98, note.

French and the Germans did all come last year. Why do you laugh?" he added, seeing smiles and significant looks around the circle. "Do I speak bad English?"

"No, no, good sir," answered Master Sutton. "We were laughing at Master Whittingham. He got us out of England. We were thinking how he did it."

"Did he do it laughably?"

"It was in this way," answered Master Sutton. "While we were stopping at Dover, our host would fain have us before the Mayor, to say who we were, and why we would cross the sea. This put us in great trouble, for doubtless it would have ended in our going to prison. Therefore we tried much to be rid of it. Whereupon the man insisted, and became angered. Master Whittingham, being willing to talk about anything else, pointeth him to a noble dog which lay there, and saith, 'Mine host, you have here a very fair greyhound.' 'Ay, ay,' saith he, 'a very fair greyhound indeed. He be of the queen's kind.' Whereat Master Whittingham did look very stern and fierce, and saith, 'Go to, sirrah! Do you dare to speak foul words of her Majesty!' At which our host, much amazed, said he had spoken no foul words. 'Marry! but you did,' saith our friend, 'and you shall answer for it. At a pretty pass be things in Dover, an a paltry inn-keeper may speak treason against our gracious queen and go unwhipt!' Whereat he, becoming exceeding pale, exclaimeth, 'Treason! God knoweth I speak no treason!' 'Nay, but you did; and my friends here be witnesses. In good sooth, my con-

science biddeth me to your Mayor to report your speech. I warrant me he will sift your traitor heart. My company shall keep you while I do mine errand.' Upon which words the poor craven trembleth much, and saith very humbly, 'Good sir, pray tell—' 'Nay, nay,' saith Master Whittingham, choking off his words, 'peace with your traitor tongue!' 'But good sir, kind sir, dear sir,' saith the other, for he was growing very worshipful, 'tell me, I pray, what treason?' '*What* treason! *what* treason! Enow to hang you,—to say that our sacred queen be of the dog kind! No good subject will hear such words and hold his peace.' Whereat our poor host was in terrible fright; and Master Whittingham did scare him much more withal, until he was fain to spare us the Mayor, an we would spare him. And so we settled our quarrel. That is the way, good sir, *we* got out of England."[1]

Master Valeran now laughed too; and then spake of annoyances which he and his church had encountered upon leaving England, and also of their good home in Frankfort. "My good friends," he then said, "I have told you of myself and of my people. Tell now, what Valeran Polan can do for you."

"We have little with us," said Master Whittingham. "We could not bring our fortunes." He himself, to preserve his religion and conscience, had left behind an estate of eleven hundred pounds sterling a year; a great estate in those times.[2] "We

[1] N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register, V. 150.

[2] Ibid.; and 1 Mass. Hist. Society's Collections, V. 206.

must earn our daily bread and worship God. An you can help us to these, you will do us great favor."

"With my biggest heart I shall try. What can be done first for the daily bread? I see Master Whittingham is one scholar. The printers of Frankfort will be glad to give work to you of reading their Latin and their Greek. Then you can say the French tongue and the German tongue, which will be great help. The Lord will provide for Master Whittingham; that is plain. And Master Williams and Master Sutton and Master Wood, and all, can find something to do in the like business, or some other; for sure all the good people of Frankfort will be proud to help the English people of the Lord. Shall they not do kindness to them as much as the good people do in Strasburg and other towns? If the Lord please, they shall do more. Do not trouble about the daily bread."

"We are quite as anxious," said Master Whittingham, "to secure the privilege of Christian worship."

"Sure! sure!" responded Master Valeran. "I have large thought for the worship. Now you see, my friend, this Frankfort is a free city. The magistrates make what laws and do what things they please; only they must not offend the Emperor. So I did go to Master John Glawberge, — he is one of the chief senators, — and I ask him to let such of my people as come with me out of England for the Gospel have a place to worship God. Then he did move the magistrates, and they did give me a little church; and many who did come from Glas-

tenbury do worship there.[1] So you see, you have place and permit ready for you, for the preaching and the praying and the sacraments."

"But your congregation are not English," said Master Sutton.

"There be no English here but you. They be all Frenchmen who did live in Glastenbury, — my people."

"Then your worship is in the French tongue," said Master Sutton, despondingly.

"God be praised," added Master Wood, "that he hath moved the hearts of the magistrates to show the French such favor. But only few of us understand the language; and there will be many more coming here anon from England who also do not understand it."

"It is bad!" said Master Valeran, sadly; "it is very bad. Why did I not think of that?"

This led to a conversation upon the question whether a like privilege might be obtained for the English, — a question much embarrassed by the well-known political and religious jealousies of the Emperor.[2] Master Valeran looked very grave, and shook his head doubtingly. In this perplexity, the company parted with their kind friend, who bade them good night, saying, "Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquiet in me? Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him. He is the health of my countenance and *my* God."

The next day, — having taken leave of their generous host and hostess, for quiet quarters in the house of "one Adrian, a citizen there," — they were

[1] Discours, 5. [2] McCrie, 98.

visited again by Valeran Polan, accompanied by Master Morellio and Master Castallio; the first a minister, and the last an elder, in the French church, "both of them godly and learned men." Upon consultation with these, it was determined in the first place to petition the magistrates that an unmolested residence in Frankfort might be assured for the English just arrived, and for all others of their countrymen who might come thither for the same cause. To this request, a favorable answer was returned on the third day after it was presented; which encouraged the exiles next to seek the great object of their wishes. This they did forthwith; and through the aid of Castallio and Morellio,—"who during their lives showed themselves fathers to all Englishmen,"—and of Master John Glawberge, before mentioned, the Senate were pleased, on the 14th of July, to grant them the use, but at different hours, of the same building granted to the French; with liberty there to preach and administer the sacraments, and to conduct the other ordinary religious exercises in their own language. The only condition of this grant was, that the English should not differ from the French in doctrine or ceremonies, and should first subscribe the same confession of faith; or, at least, should not differ in either respect any further than should, by the others, be freely allowed and agreed upon. This condition was "a prudent precaution dictated by the political circumstances of the city,"[1] and was thankfully complied with by the petitioners, and by others who had arrived, in the mean time, direct from England. The whole body

[1] McCrie, 98.

then agreed upon an order of religious services, in which they were to follow chiefly the second service-book of King Edward; omitting, however, the use of the surplice, the general supplication or litany, all responses after the minister, and "sundry things touching the ministration of the sacraments"; all which were "by common consent omitted as superstitious and superfluous," and because they "would seem more than strange in those reformed churches" with whom their lot was cast. "It was further agreed upon, that the minister, in place of the English confession, should use another, both of more effect, and also framed according to the state and time." These changes from the English forms were made with perfect harmony; a brief form of discipline was drawn up, a subscription to which was required of all as a condition of church-membership; a minister and deacons were elected to serve the congregation for the present; and, on the 29th of the month, they entered their church, and to their great joy commenced public worship, having two sermons on that day.

The desire of Edward VI., of Cranmer, and of Ridley, to attain to simpler and yet simpler forms of worship and discipline[1] was the desire of many others; and had been cherished to the time of the king's death by those who were now refugees at Frankfort.[2] This was doubtless one reason for the religious changes there made. But another, and the chief one, was imperative. The conditions imposed by the magistrates were reasonable, and left the

[1] Pierce, 44. Neal, I. 55, 56.
[2] Heylin's Ref., 92; Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 5.

strangers no alternative, unless they should seek another home, — a fact not to be overlooked for a moment in examining the "Troubles at Frankfort."

The exiles had some peculiar reasons for rejoicing and thanksgiving which deserve our notice. First, that even in a Protestant country they had found a place of refuge. "The enmity, at that day, between Calvinists and Lutherans, was as fierce as that between Reformers and Catholics."[1] The Lutheran churches held in abhorrence all who denied the dogma of "the corporal presence"; and even avowed, that, rather than tolerate such heretics, they would turn back again to the Church of Rome.[2] So far did they carry their hate, as to deny the common charities of humanity to those who held, on this point, with Zwingle and Calvin, Peter Martyr and the Reformers of England. When, therefore, Rogers and Cranmer, Ridley and others, had suffered for Christ at the stake, they were but "the Devil's martyrs" in the Lutheran vocabulary;[3] and when others fled for life to the Continent, they were driven like dogs, with abuse and insult, from every port and town and hearthstone where the disciples of Luther prevailed. Thus it was a matter of peculiar rejoicing that they found any places of refuge; that the disciples of Zwingle and Calvin — as at Strasburg, Frankfort, Embden, Basil, Doesburge, Zurich, Arrow, and Geneva — received them with more than kindness, and granted them liberty of

[1] Motley's Dutch Republic, II. 69.
[2] Heyl. Presb., Bk. I. Sec. 1.
[3] "Vociferantem martyres Anglicos esse martyres diaboli." Melancthon apud Heylin, 250; Lingard, VII. 206, note.

religious worship. Geneva even allowed them to "adopt the form of worship which pleased them best."[1]

Again, the exiles were many; and many were poor. It was kind to receive them in their distress and poverty; but it was generous, noble,—that more considerate and delicate kindness of giving them opportunities to minister, at least in part, to their own wants by their own labors. While some devoted themselves to study, others made their time available by teaching schools, by writing books, by overseeing and correcting the press.[2] Nor were they forgotten by men of heart and substance at home. Money was liberally contributed and sent to them from London and other towns in England; until Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who had his spies at every man's elbow, discovered it, and "swore so to stop their supplies, that for very hunger they should eat their own nails, and then feed on their fingers' ends."[3] He could cut off supplies from England; but not the flowing of other fountains. Where the banished sojourned, God had people; and God's people there had gold, and gave it. Princes, and others of wealth and estate, sent benevolences to these needy ones; and the senators of Zurich, in particular, opened their treasury for them.[4]

[1] Strype's Cranmer, 353, 354. Collier, VI. 645, note; from which it appears, to his immortal honor, that the gentle Melancthon warmly condemned this uncharitable treatment and these indecent reproaches. See also Mosheim, IV. 376, note. Neal, I. 66. Hallam, 105. McCrie, 98, note. Hist. and Gen. Reg., V. 311.

[2] Strype's Cranmer, 354. Fuller, Bk. VIII. p. 36.

[3] Strype's Memorials, V. 403.

[4] Strype's Cranmer, 360; Grindal, 89; Annals, III. 349. Fuller Bk. VIII. pp. 35, 36. Grindal to Cecil, Jan. 1563–4, in Wright's Elizabeth, I. 163.

For their religious immunities, the English refugees at Frankfort were distinguished; for "the like benefit could nowhere else *as yet* be obtained." Moreover, they were of one mind; their commodities of living were more, and their charges less, than they had found elsewhere; and not a man of the magistrates or common people of the city but met them daily with kind faces, kind hearts, and kind deeds.

Thus situated, they took thought for their brethren in Strasburg, Zurich, and other places, and wrote to them on the 2d of August, stating these particulars of their condition, and inviting them with great earnestness and affection to come and dwell with them. They urged with emphasis, and as their chief persuasive, that "no greater treasure or sweeter comfort could be desired by a Christian man, than to have a church wherein he may serve God in purity of faith and integrity of life; which, where we would" — in England — "we could not there obtain it"; and reminding them "that, before, we have reasoned together in hope to obtain a church . . . . . free from all dregs of superstitious ceremonies."

They also wrote, on the 24th of September, to Master John Knox at Geneva, to Master James Haddon at Strasburg, and to Master Thomas Lever at Zurich, whom *they had elected* for their ministers; the burden of the letters being, "We do desire you and also require[1] you in the name of God not to deny us nor to refuse these our requests to preach unto us the most lively Word of God."

[1] Beseech.

John Knox was now in the ripeness of his days, being forty-eight years of age. He had been one of the six chaplains in ordinary to King Edward, and, like Hooper, had been charged with the duty of itinerant preaching.[1] Of course, he had enjoyed the personal favor of the young sovereign. It was through his influence that, in the second correction of the Book of Common Prayer, the notion of "the corporal presence" had been completely excluded. He had been offered a benefice in London,[2] and also a bishopric.[3] The former he declined, "not willing to be bound," by taking upon him a fixed charge, "to use King Edward's Book entire"; and the latter, "as having something in it in common with Antichrist." For several years he had held, and openly avowed, that no mortal man could be head of the Church; that there were no true bishops but such as themselves preached the Gospel; that the clergy ought not to hold civil places, titles, and dignities; that in religion, especially in the acts of worship, men are not at liberty to adopt their own inventions, but are bound to regulate themselves by the Scriptures; and that the sacraments ought to be administered exactly according to the institution and example of Christ. Of course, he objected to many of the ceremonies of the Church of England; to the "theatrical dress, the mimical gestures, and the vain repetitions" of her religious service. When asked before the Privy Council, "if kneeling at the Lord's table were not indifferent?" he replied: "Christ's action was most perfect, and in it no such

[1] McCrie, 66.
[2] Strype's Memorials, IV. 72.
[3] Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 320. Strype's Parker, 366.

posture was used. It is most safe to follow his example. Kneeling is an addition and invention of men."[1] After long reasoning with him respecting the points on which he dissented from the established order of the Church, he was told, "that he was not called before the Council that they might involve him in any trouble, though they were sorry that he should not agree with the common order." To which he replied, "that he was sorry that the common order should be contrary to Christ's institution." Whereupon "with some gentle speeches," he was dismissed.[2]

Yet, notwithstanding his objections to the ceremonies of the English Church, he could conscientiously officiate therein, for he never submitted to the unlimited use of the liturgy, an absolute conformity to it *not being then pressed upon ministers.*

With these sentiments, he had left England soon after King Edward's death, and arrived in Switzerland about the end of March, 1554. He was reluctant to leave Geneva; but, being persuaded by Calvin, he consented, and came to Frankfort on the 16th of November, in obedience to the call of the English refugees.[3]

"Why are ye sae sad?" he asked, as he observed with surprise the troubled countenances of Sutton, Whittingham, and others who came to welcome him on his arrival.

[1] Knox's rule, rigidly followed, would have compelled him to have insisted upon a *reclining* posture for communicants; because in that posture the first supper was administered and received.

[2] Strype's Memorials, IV. 73.

[3] Pierce, 36. McCrie, 66–76, 94, 99.

"The Lord hath seen fit to try our faith sorely," answered Master Whittingham. "The sun hath shone brightly upon us, and just as we begin to sing, 'The lines are fallen to us in pleasant places,' He covereth our sky with clouds."

"'His *strength* is in the clouds,' O ye o' little faith!" answered Master Knox, with energy. "They are his messengers o' gude; and whin they ha' unburdened thimsels, the air is purged, the earth is refreshed, the leaf and the flower laugh i' the sunlight, the birds sing, and the heart o' man is made glad. Dinna ye ken that it is his *strength* whilk is in the clouds? Natheless, the puir fleeced sheep canna haud frae tremblin' whin the rain pelteth, the mair an it be cauld. But tell me, my fleeced anes, what *be* the clouds?"

"Dissensions," answered Master Whittingham.

"Dis-sen-sions!" exclaimed Master Knox sharply.

"About our order of worship."

"I was advised that ye were o' ane mind touching the order o' worship."

"We were," replied Master Whittingham, "and with one mind and heart we have invited our brethren hither. About ten days agone cometh Master Richard Chambers from Zurich with letters from the brethren there, in which they say — as they did also in a letter received before — that they will join us here an we stand pledged upon our consciences to use the same order of service concerning religion which was in England last set forth by King Edward; and that they are fully determined to admit and use no other."

"Alack!" exclaimed Master Knox, "a sair, sair

thing to invent ceremonies to adorn God's worship withal, and then impose their minding.[1] Na gude can come o' it a'. It can ainly mak the godly differ. Are these differences wi' the brethren o' Zurich the clouds o' whilk ye spak?"

"It were sad enough," replied Whittingham, "an there were no others. The dissensions are among ourselves, Master Knox; and have been sown by these letters from Zurich.[2] Before they came, we were of one mind, and happy. Now, some are for our present order; some, for the order of King Edward's Book."

"Ha' ye heard frae Strasburg?"

"Once; and a very strange letter, for it did not in any point answer ours. It only signified that they had undertaken to appoint a superintendent[3] for us, of which we wrote nothing.[4] We had fully determined to have our church served by two or three proper ministers of *our own* choosing, and of equal authority. We do not wish a chief superintendent; and should we, he would be elected by ourselves."

[1] McCrie, 53.

[2] McCrie, 99, 100.

[3] The title of "Bishop" was very generally disused in common speech during the reign of Edward VI., and that of "Superintendent" substituted in its place. Strype's Memorials, IV. 141, 142. McCrie, 408.

[4] Neal has made a mistake on this point. His words are: "The congregation at Frankfort sent letters to these places on the 2d of August, 1554, beseeching the English divines to send some of their number whom they might choose, to take the oversight of them." But the "general letter," as given in the "Discours," contains no semblance of such a request. On the contrary, it was afterward a matter of complaint, that the Strasburg brethren had attempted such a thing. Compare "Discours," pp. 13, 14. The error of Neal is important only as it hides the fact that the Frankfort Church were acting upon anti-prelatic, and even congregational, principles.

"An ye tak not to having lords ower God's heritage, and them nane o' the kirk's election, ye do weel. Hath Master Chambers gane?"

"Yesterday; and with our answer."

"And what ha' ye writ?"

"That we desire to follow King Edward's Book as far as God's Word will allow; but as for the ceremonies, they are not to be used, because some of them can in no wise be tolerated by our consciences, because all are unprofitable, and because, being in a strange commonwealth, we cannot be suffered to put them in use; and better it were they should never be practised, than the subversion of our church should be hazarded by using them."

"Weel, weel, brethren," said Master Knox, when the conversation had been protracted, and he had heard all their griefs thoughtfully, "let us wait on the Lord sae mickle as concerneth happenings; but we munna put aff duties whilk be plain and o' the day, ane o' whilk is — peace. I canna bide contention amang brethren. It be a sair evil, and munna be permitted. I will wark amang ye in the name o' the Lord in the whilk ye ha' sent for me, and my first prayer maun be that ye be o' ane mind. I say nae mair noo about the folk o' Zurich; but will tak tent o' their epistle in secret. An ye hae anither word frae Strasburg, mayhap light will shine where it be unco dark noo."

So they broke up their council, and Master Knox betook himself with all the ardor of his soul to preaching the Word and reuniting his flock.

On the 29th of November "oure little congregation" — which, however, had been increased by new-

comers from England — were assembled to consider a letter from their brethren at Strasburg, instigated by those at Zurich.[1] Its bearers, who had arrived the day before, were Master Chambers and Master Edmund Grindal; the latter now thirty-five years of age. He had been educated at Cambridge; was a preacher of great repute in the days of King Edward; had been one of his chaplains;[2] and two years before — young as he then was — had been offered a bishopric, but had been prevented from entering upon it by the king's illness and death. He had now begun to dislike the garments enjoined upon the clergy by the Church, and also many of her ceremonies.[3]

After the blessing of the Divine Spirit had been invoked, the letter from Strasburg was read; the chief point of which was, that the last service-book of King Edward should be adopted at Frankfort, as far as might be done. It urged, that "any deviation from that Book would seem to condemn its authors, then suffering and in peril of life for it in England: that such deviation would also give occasion to the Papists to accuse their doctrine of imperfection, and them of fickleness; and that it would cause the godly to doubt the truth, whereof before they were persuaded."

"Brethren!" said Master Grindal, when the reading of the letter was concluded, "Master Chambers and myself have come, in the spirit of Christian fellowship, to pray the magistrates to grant the English a separate house of worship; but chiefly

[1] McCrie, 100.
[2] Strype's Grindal, 7.
[3] Neal, I. 155.

to pray them and you that the full order of religious service may be practised here as set forth by our late sovereign lord the king."

"Wad ye ha' us tak the hail Buke?" inquired Master Knox, "wi' the ceremonies it commandeth, while the gude folk o' Frankfort amang wha' we dwell canna brook them?"

"No, Master Knox," replied Grindal, "we do not wish to insist upon such ceremonies and things as the country cannot bear. We will be content that such be omitted, provided only that we may use the Book in its substance and effect."

"What do you mean, Master Grindal, by the substance of the Book?" asked Master Whittingham.

"Ay," said Master Knox, "what do ye mean preceesly? Master Whittingham putteth the hail matter in a hazle-shell."

Master Grindal, after consulting a moment with Master Chambers, replied: "We appear, brethren, as spokesmen for others. We are not commissioned to enter upon a discussion to which an answer to the question would lead. There are three questions which we would have the congregation answer, an it pleaseth them: first, what parts of the Book will ye admit? second, can you procure a place of worship for the English by themselves? and third, can we be assured of a quiet residence if we come hither?"[1]

After some little deliberation, it was replied, that so much of the Book would be admitted as they could prove to stand with God's Word, and as the magistrates would permit; that as for a separate

[1] Strype's Grindal, 10.

place of worship, there were political reasons why the magistrates could not move in the matter at present; and that assurance had from the first been given of the freedom of the city to all Englishmen who might desire it.

After some further colloquy, the people separated to give time for the drafting of an answer to the letter from Strasburg.

"I confess," said Grindal to Knox when they were alone, "that I have scruples about some parts of the Book of Prayer, about some of the ceremonies, and about the vestments of the clergy. Yet their rejection seemeth to touch the honor of those who established them."

"Dinna ye ken," replied Master Knox, "that our gracious sovereign hissel did allow his clergy to step aside frae the letter o' the Buke when their consciences could na agree wi' it? Dinna ye ken, that I mysel gat na rebuke frae his Majesty, wha ken'd weel that I did na and wad na use many parts o' it? Certes, his Highness did na think that I disrespekit him!"

"It is true," said Grindal, thoughtfully.

"An he did na think that I disrespekit him in sae doing *then*, why should ither folk think I disrespect him in sae doing *now?* Na, na, Master Grindal, ye knaw weel that he did na his sel' think the Buke perfect, and sae the Buke itsel confesseth.[1] He did mak changes i' his lifetime. He wad hae made mair, an the gude God had sparit his life.[2] And ithers wha were zealous for the reformation, and did mend

[1] Neal, I. 56, and note. [2] McCrie, 410.

the Buke as it now standeth, were o' the same mind and the same purpose wi' his Majesty.[1] The Archbishop his sel' did gang sae far i' the matter, that he drawit up wi' his ain hand a Buke o' Prayer whilk he reportit an hundred times mair perfect than this whilk we now ha', but whilk he could na mak to be used, he being matched wi' ither clergy sae corrupt wi' Popish notions, and having ither enemies besides.[2] Cranmer and Ridley baith did intend to get ane act o' Parliament to blaw awa the Popish garments frae the clergy. Were they now in our case, amang those wha tak offence at the garments and ceremonies, I mak nae doubt they wad e'en do the like whilk we ha' done."[3]

"But consider, Master Knox," said Grindal, "what effect our departure from the order of King Edward's Book will have upon those who are now undergoing persecution in England."

"We differ naething frae them i' *doctrine;* and verily nane o' those godly folk will stand to the

[1] Discours, p. 34, last paragraph of letter to Calvin.

[2] The following passage occurs in Pierce's "Vindication," p. 13: "I see no reason to question the truth of what is related in the history of the Troubles at Frankfort, that Cranmer, Bishop of Canterbury, had drawn up a Book of Prayer a hundred times more perfect than this we now have; that the same could not take place for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation. Which passage Strype speaks of, as pretended to be the words of Bullinger, and handed about as such by the discontented at Frankfort; whereas it was really the report of one of Cox's side, and he reported it upon his own knowledge." This is important, although no authority is given for the concluding statement. I think it cannot rest upon anything in the Discours; for, if I have read correctly its somewhat blind language on page 50, the writer traces it *no further* than to Bullinger. Did *he* receive it from "one of Cox's side"?

[3] Discours, 21. McCrie, 78, 79, 408, 410. Pierce, 44.

death in defence o' ceremonies which, as the Buke specifieth, upon just cause may be altered. An they demur to come hither where they may ha' sae great privilege, — an they demur, I say, ainly because o' the braking o' a ceremony, they maun be slenderly taught what be the first principles o' the Gospel o' Christ."[1]

"I repeat it, Master Knox, that I have doubts about some things enjoined by the Book. Yet I am accustomed to respect it, and cannot easily turn aside from it."

"I ken weel that you desire to do the will o' your Master wha is in heaven; and doubt not he will mak you to understand his will in gude time. I wad na ha' you do that aboot whilk you doubt. You maun follow your conscience while it saith, 'Stick to the Buke.' The ceremonies, and laughable fooleries, and comical dresses,[2] winna hurt your ain sel', — I say naething o' some weak brother being led into sin by them, — but John Knox canna use them, wi' *his* conscience, an he would; and would na, for their silliness, an he could."

"What you have now said will be the substance of your answer to our letter, I suppose."

"Na, na; I be na prelate to lord it ower God's heritage. But it will be the answer, an what I ha' said agreeth wi' the minds o' the congregation. And ane thing mair will be the answer, — that an the brethren o' Strasburg tak a journey hither for to establish the ceremonies, it will be mair to their ain charges than to any general gude; for we will practise the Buke ainly sae far as God's Word doth

[1] Discours, 25. [2] McCrie, 409.

assure it, and the state of the country doth permit."[1]

What Knox had said to Grindal did agree with the minds of the congregation; and was the substance of the answer which they sent to Strasburg four days afterwards. Such too, for the most part, had been their letter of the 1st of November to those at Zurich.

[1] Discours, 25, 26.

# CHAPTER V.

## THE TROUBLES AT FRANKFORT.

CALVIN ON THE ENGLISH BOOK. — ADVISES MUTUAL YIELDING. — STRIFES. — AGREEMENT. — DR. COX ARRIVES. — DISTURBS THE WORSHIP. — THE PULPIT USURPED, AND THE CONGREGATION TAUNTED. — KNOX REBUKES THE PROCEEDING, AND JUSTIFIES HIMSELF. — COX AND HIS PARTY ADMITTED TO VOTE. — THEY ADOPT THE ENGLISH BOOK. — THE MAGISTRATES ENFORCE THE FRENCH ORDER. — KNOX CHARGED WITH TREASON. — HE IS ADVISED TO LEAVE. — HIS DEPARTURE. — THE ENGLISH LITURGY BROUGHT IN BY ARTIFICE. — THE ORIGINAL CONGREGATION DISPERSE TO OTHER CITIES.

### 1554, 1555.

THE unhappy differences in the congregation, occasioned by the letters from Zurich, were increased by the mission from Strasburg. About the 20th of December, hopeless of union with the brethren of those cities, and anxious for harmony, the congregation sought "to conclude upon some certain order by common consent," and without delay; their previous order, it would seem, having been only provisional. At length it was agreed that the order of worship used by the church of Geneva, of which John Calvin was minister, should take place, "as an order most godly and fartherest off from superstition." They therefore requested Master Knox to put it into practice, and to administer the sacrament according to it. Although he approved of it, yet, because he would do nothing which might tend to widen and continue a discreditable variance with their other brethren, he would not consent to use

it until they had been consulted.[1] Nor would he administer the sacrament according to the Book of England, because, he said, "there were things in that communion service having no warrant in the Bible, and which had also long been superstitiously and wickedly abused in the Mass of the Romish Church." He therefore requested, if he might not be permitted to officiate according to his own conscience, that some other one might do it, and he would only preach; but that, if neither might be granted, he might be released from his charge. To the latter, however, the congregation would by no means consent.

In the mean time, the number of English refugees had increased; some of whom took no small pains to undo the existing order of things, and to bring in place the full use of the English service. In this state of affairs Knox and Whittingham requested Calvin's opinion of the English Book, at the same time sending him a large "description" of it; for it was hoped that the counsel of one in so high repute, as a learned, discreet, and godly man, and "whose advice had been gratefully received and acknowledged by Cranmer"[2] and his associates, might conduce to unanimity.

In his reply, dated January 20th, 1554–5, Calvin said that he saw in the English Liturgy "many tolerable foolishnesses," — "things unapt, but sufferable," would be a more generous translation of "tolerabiles ineptias," — a phrase at which English writers have taken great offence. But he added: "By these words I mean, that there is not that purity

[1] McCrie, 100, and note. [2] Pierce, 26.

or perfection which was to be desired; which imperfections, though they could not at first be remedied, were to be borne with for a time in regard that no manifest impiety was contained in them. It was therefore so far lawful to begin with such beggarly rudiments, that the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ might be thereby encouraged for proceeding further in setting out somewhat which might prove more pure and perfect," — the very policy of Cranmer and his co-workers. "If true religion had flourished till this time in England, it had been necessary that many things in that Book should have been omitted, and others altered to the better. But now that all such principles are out of force, and that you were to constitute a church in another place, and that you were at liberty to compose such a form of worship which might be useful to the Church, and more conducive to edification than the other did, I know not what to think of those who are so much delighted in the dregs of Popery..... A new model is much different from an alteration," — or, as in the translation in "the Discours," "This new order" (which you propose) "far differeth from a change." The substance of his advice was: "As I would not have you too stiff and peremptory, if the infirmity of some men suffer them not to come up unto your own desires; so I must needs admonish others, not to be too much pleased with their wants and ignorances." In other words, he disliked the Liturgy, but would advise each party to yield something of their preferences.

This letter we quote somewhat largely, that it may here appear how far removed Calvin was, in this

instance at least, from austere bigotry and intolerance.[1]

At first, this letter so far quieted the congregation,[2] that another modification of their order of worship was canvassed. But while it was liked by many, it was stoutly resisted by others. Disagreement grew to contention; contention, to crimination. "Newfangledness"; "singularity"; "stirrers of contention and unquietness," — were freely charged upon those who sought for greater simplicity in their ritual. The aspect of affairs became alarming.

At this crisis, Master Gilby, startled by such unchristlike wranglings, threw himself upon his knees before them, and besought them with "godly grief" and with tears to reform their judgments; to protest solemnly that, in this matter, they would not seek the gratification of their own preferences, but God's glory only. "Such," said he, "I am verily persuaded that we, who are so sore charged, are ready to do. In God's holy name, hear me, brethren. Peace, peace, brethren, cost what it may!" Then, stretching his arm upward, as if appealing to Heaven, he added, with the impressive energy of sincerity: "Gladly would I have this right hand stricken off, could the sacrifice bring us to a godly unity!"

The appeal was felt. The wrangling was hushed. The spirit of strife took flight. The Spirit of God prevailed. Shame crept from one to another; and then, grief; and then, penitence. Their hearts

[1] I have adopted the translation of this letter as given in Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, Bk. I. Sec. 17. It is bad English, but I think easier to be understood than that in the Discours.

[2] McCrie, 101.

warmed, melted, blended. They heard the voice of the Master.

The opinions of parties were not changed, — the moment had nothing to do with opinions, — but their tempers were; and they were in the right state to receive opinions. Knox, Lever, Parry, and Whittingham were directed "to devise some order, if it might be, to end all strife and contention." As soon as this committee met for conference, Master Knox said, with true Christian magnanimity: "I perceive that no end o' contention is to be hoped for unless there be some relenting. For the sake o' quiet, I will e'en do my part. I will gie my opinion wi' a' honesty o' heart; how i' my ain judgment may be maist for the edification o' this puir flock. An ye like it not, I will cease, and commit the hail matter to be ordered by ye as ye will answer to Christ Jesus at the last day."

After sufficient conference, an order was agreed upon. The party who wished for a more simple form suffered the others to select from King Edward's Book those things for which they were most urgent, as of chief importance; and to these some other things were added which the position of that particular church seemed to require. This was done upon the condition — to which the congregation agreed — that the order of service thus arranged should continue, without alteration, at least until the last day of April following, when, if any new matter of difference should have arisen, it should be referred to Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret, and by them be determined. The compact was then put in writing. "Moreover, thanks were given to God with

great joy, and common prayers were made, for that men thought that day to be the end of discord." The Lord's Supper, which had been neglected three months, was administered as a seal of their agreement; in which good Master Valeran participated with great joy.

This important adjustment was made on the 6th of February, 1554–5.

On the 12th of March, a company of stranger Englishmen arrived at the inn of Fritz Hansen. When they had refreshed themselves at his generous board, one of them asked him, somewhat querulously, whether he had or had not sent for Master Whittingham and Master Knox. Being answered in the affirmative, the querist turned to one of his companions, saying in English, "You can manage this German language better than I, Doctor Horn. Will you please catechize the man?"

Upon which, Doctor Horn, addressing Fritz, asked, "You know our countrymen in Frankfort?"

"Yes, sir; and proud to say it."

"No doubt, no doubt. Englishmen are an honor to any city. But we are told that our countrymen here have not been peaceable among themselves in religious matters."

"O, sir! that's all over now. It was only for a little while. To-morrow — let me see! This is the twelfth day of March. Yes — to-morrow will be five weeks since they came to a happy agreement."

"Humph! An agreement to be half one thing and half another; half English and half Genevan, — was it not?"

Fritz, wondering not a little at such a way of speaking about Christian harmony, replied, "They have a Liturgy, good sir."

"But not like the English."

"I am told that some of it is like the English, and some of it not."

"So we have heard. But have they continued this new way up to this time?"

"Yes, sir; and under the new way, they live very quietly and happily."

"Enough; if our countrymen for whom we have sent ever come, show them in."

It was as Fritz had said. The five weeks since the 6th of February had passed peacefully and happily with the English church, under the modified Liturgy agreed upon. The good people of Frankfort, seeing them once more walking in love and worshipping in unity, had almost forgotten the bygone strifes; while the exiles themselves had followed their secular pursuits without distraction, and their worship without bitterness. They had indeed to regret that all their fellow-exiles should not be united in one home and one church; and especially, that any should stand aloof merely through a rigid reverence for forms, whose civil and ecclesiastical authority had come to an end, whose stability and perfection even their authors had never pretended, and which were displeasing to the Reformed churches among whom the exiles had taken refuge. This regret, however, had not intermeddled with their joy.

The company who had just taken possession of Fritz Hansen's hostel were Doctor Richard Cox, Tutor, Almoner, and Privy Councillor of the late

King Edward,[1] Doctor Robert Horn, lately residing at Zurich, and "others of great note and quality."[2] Cox was one of several whom they of Strasburg had officiously proposed to take oversight and charge of the church at Frankfort; and Horn had signed the letter of the 13th of October from Zurich, avowing a "full determination to admit and use no other order than the last taken in the Church of England."

They were soon greeted by the principal members of the English church, and welcomed with honest cordiality. When Doctor Cox announced that he and his companions had come to abide there, Master Whittingham replied with sincerity: "We thank God! Would that all our countrymen who are beyond the paw of the tigress and the spite of the Lutheran were one family, in one tabernacle, and at one altar!"

"We do our part, you see, to forward your prayer," replied Doctor Horn. "And now, good sir, we would fain find better commodity of lodging than this hostel, an we may. An your better acquaintance with Frankfort may serve us in this, we shall be beholden for your kindness."

"We do remember our own needs when we came hither," replied Master Whittingham; "and how the kind words and good offices of Master Valeran and Master Morellio were like cold water to our fainting spirits. God forbid that we fail in the like to you. An there be Christian hearts in Frankfort, ye shall have entertainment and every brotherly service, anon."

[1] Fox, II. 653. Biog. Britan. [2] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 6.

The offer was as gladly accepted as it was heartily made; and all hospitality and kindness were immediately extended to the new-comers.[1] When the order of religious service was spoken of, and their hopes expressed that some further return to that of King Edward's Book might be attained, they were told unequivocally that the present order could not be changed until the last of April, without breach of a promise which had been established by invocation of God's name; that the holy sacrament had been received as the sure token or seal of the present agreement; and that therefore it would be a sort of sacrilege to change. It was, moreover, frankly stated, that any further adoption of the English Book would be offensive to the honest consciences of the church, and would hazard the good-will of the citizens and the favor of the magistrates.[2]

"So, we find all things just as we expected, Doctor Cox," said Doctor Horn, so soon as they were by themselves again. "What with their conscience, as they call it, their seal of agreement, and the magistrates, we are like to have enow to look after in putting down this upstart new-fangledness."

"Mark me!" replied Doctor Cox, with vehemence, "we have come *for the very purpose* of putting it down;[3] and it shall be done. I put not *my* hand

[1] Pierce, 36.

[2] There is no *record* that these statements were formally made to Dr. Cox and his party; but, under the circumstances of the church, it cannot for a moment be supposed, that he was not knowing of them before the doings of the next day.

[3] Heyl. Presb., Bk. I. Sec. 18. Biog. Britan., Article *Cox*. I cannot help it, that Heylin contradicts his statement (Bk. I. Sec. 18), that Cox was "brought thither by the noise of so great a schism," by saying (Bk. VI. Sec. 6) that Cox and Horn "found all things *contrary* to their expectations." What had been done at Frankfort had not

to the plough and look back. I have come to repair this broken wall; and, if need be, will copy Nehemiah, with his trowel in one hand and his sword in the other. To the wind with agreements and pledges and consciences, an they go in anything to deface the worthy ordinances and laws of our sovereign lord, King Edward, of most famous memory. An I fail in one way, I will invoke another."

"But they are so confiding and brotherly," objected Doctor Horn, "it will seem like treachery to do violence to their arranging."

"Say rather, their *de*ranging. An Master Knox's conscience turn holy things upside down, and my conscience bid me put them to rights again, pray who should yield? Must I stay reformation, forsooth, because another maketh naughty pledge in God's name and on the sacrament? Must I be squeamish on the score of common courtesy and common hospitality? We will try whether will prevail with Englishmen, — the Primer of a vulgar Scot, or the Liturgy of a king; so mean a fellow as John Knox,[1] or the friend and Councillor of Edward the Sixth. We will try it — an the heavens fall, Doctor Horn — at to-morrow morning's prayers."

They did try it; and the first "response" in prayer from their lips — like a discord in soothing music —

been done in a corner. Every movement there was well known by all the exiles elsewhere, and had produced no small excitement. Besides, we have a letter from Grindal to Ridley, dated May, 1555, in which he says expressly, that "Master Cox and others met there" — at Frankfort — "*for the purpose* of well-quieting the church." Of course he meant to do it as he did. (Strype's Memorials, V. 410.) In this suppositious dialogue, I have simply aimed to exhibit the object and spirit of Dr. Cox and his associates, so deplorably demonstrated in every step of their proceedings.

[1] Heyl. Presb., Bk. I. Sec. 18.

wrought consternation and grief. The spirit of devotion fell, like a clipped bird. The form of prayer proceeded; but, to the last "Amen," not a prayer had gone up to God, — nothing but amazement, a sense of wrong, and exultation for a successful plot. Of course there were complaint and commotion. The elders rebuked their guests for so rude a violation of order in a brotherhood by whom they had just been welcomed, and in unsuspecting faith. It was of no avail. The others only retorted, that the dishonor of their country's ritual merited dishonor; that they *would* do as they had done in England; that they *would* have the face of an English church.

This was on the 13th of the month, — Tuesday or Wednesday. It does not appear that the precisians attempted any other outrage during the week; but by some crafty measures, not on record, the pulpit on Sunday forenoon was occupied — abruptly, and without the previous consent of the congregation proper — by a preacher of Cox's party, who read the Litany of King Edward's Book, to which Doctor Cox and his friends gave the responses. Not content with this, the minister in his sermon uttered many taunting and bitter speeches against the past doings and present order of the congregation.

Wounded and excited by so barefaced an assault, several of the church urged Master Knox, whose turn it was to preach in the afternoon, to clear them of the defamation.[1] This he did; protesting in a spirited manner against the impiety and indecency of renewing differences which had just been recon-

[1] For these several particulars, *compare* pp. 39 and 48 of the Discours.

ciled; "which thing," he said, "became not the proudest of them to have attempted." He added, "that nothing could be righteously imposed upon a Christian congregation, but what had warrant from the Word of God; that in the English Book were many things superstitious and impure, which he would not consent should be adopted there; that if any men would go about to burden that free congregation with them, he would not fail upon proper occasion to withstand him."

Doctor Cox — thinking it proper that a church should be publicly whipped by their guests, and improper that the church should protest — sharply assailed their minister so soon as he had left the pulpit; particularly for impugning King Edward's Book.

"I canna be fashed wi' vain disputings," said the shrewd Scot. "It were muckle pains for meagre gains. Naithless, I wad propound some sma' matter to be reflected aboot. King Edward o' blessed memory did set forth *twa* Bukes; ane o' whilk was put thegither under Doctor Cox's counselling and advice.[1] But it provit sae lame and unperfect, that his Majesty was malcontent, and wad hae a better. Sae also was Doctor Cox his sel'; wha writ to Master Bullinger when Master Hooper was in trouble about the vestments, that it had need o' unco tinkering, 'for that a' things i' the church ought to be pure and simple, far removit frae the pomps and elements o' the warld,'[2] — an opinion mair true than whilk the Doctor never spakit. Weel; anent the auld Buke — whilk

[1] Neal, I. 46. Pierce, 36.

[2] Strype's Parker, 99. Pierce, 39. McCrie, 409.

were not abune twa or three years in gettin' decrepit — anent the auld Buke the gude king's craftsmen, ane o' wham was the same learned Doctor,[1] did frame a new ane. This new ane ha' met wi' a warse mishap than the ither, whilk cam to a natural death, and whilk the Parliament puttit i' the grave wi' a show o' respect; for by special act it ha' been condemned wi' shame to no funeral, like ane untimely birth. Twa Bukes — twa Parliaments — twa deaths. Now, wi' what face Doctor Cox can order me to the use o' a Buke whilk the present law o' his ain country hae branded and forbid to be used, I canna comprehend. Nay, mair; I marvel to hear orders how to pray frae him wha hath twice failed to make a Buke o' Prayers that wad live. We hae a Buke here, Doctor, whilk *be* alive; while your ain, i' the eye o' the English law, be dead. Now John Knox, being ane simple man o' his sel', and misdoubting your authority, submitteth his ain puir judgment to the better judgment o' King Solomon, wha writ that a living dog be better than a dead lion."

But playful irony availed no more with Doctor Cox, than grave rebuke from the pulpit. He had flung a firebrand upon combustibles, and he would fan it. Many words passed to and fro, but with no other result than to fix upon Tuesday to canvass this new-blown variance.

But on Tuesday, the purpose to insure respect for the violated order of worship was forestalled. Upon the very threshold of their deliberations, it was moved to admit Doctor Cox and his party to vote upon all questions. "Are they not Christians?" it

[1] Strype's Memorials, IV. 20.

was urged. "Are they not of the same country? Are they not in the same exile? of the same national communion? of the same doctrine? Why bar them from the full privileges of Christ's English family in Frankfort?"

"Suppose all these things true," it was replied, "they hold another mind on the question before us. First settle the question; then, the admission. Again, they should first comply with the condition, to which we have all submitted, to subscribe our discipline. And yet again, we doubt that they *are* of the same doctrine, and do suspect some of them, at least, of Popery; of having been at Mass at home; ay, of having their names now subscribed to wicked and blasphemous articles, not sparing this well-grounded suspicion of the very minister who brake our order on Sunday and chastised us in his sermon."[1] "For these considerations and such like," says the chronicle, "the congregation withstood the admission of Doctor Cox and his company."

At last Master Knox gave his voice. "Thraw open the door; thraw open the door! An there be Papist hypocrite amang them, the sin be on his ain head. We hae gied them the honest shake o' the hand, the kiss o' charity, the gude faith o' brethren. We hae brakkit wi' them our crust, and shared wi' them our cup, our hames, our chambers, and our sanctuary. Let us gie them *a'*! Let them ne'er gang awa saying, 'We came i' the name o' Christ, i' the name o' Mither Church, i' the name o' England, and when we knockit at the wicket o' the privy congregation, they bad us begane!' I ken weel their

[1] Compare pp. 39, 48 of the Discours.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

hankerings. They ken weel our mislikings. An we gie them a' we hae to gie, — an we gie them the anely thing we hae not gied, — they canna look us i' the face, and lift up the heel anent the simple way whilk we hae elected to worship God, — the way to whilk we hae tied the strings o' our hearts. They canna be sae cruel to brak doon our Bethel and mak it a Baca. The street-stanes o' Frankfort wad cry out!"

Master Knox's "intretie" and influence prevailed with so many as, joined to the proposers of the measure, made a majority. The new company were admitted; and were enough, with those of the original congregation who favored the Liturgy, to control the whole. The axe was then struck at the root of the tree. Doctor Cox forthwith procured a vote which "forbade Knox to meddle anye more in that congregation. Thus was he put-owt by those which he brought in."

"What now! at odds again!" said Master John Glawberge, the next day, when Master Whittingham broke these doings to him, — "at odds again!"

"Good sir! we are a chaos, at best. My heart misgiveth me that we are worse. There be ill spirit on both parts. Wherefore I fear lest mayhap, when another is set up to preach this day in Master Knox's stead, — which they intend to do, — it be so ill taken that we come to shameful disturbance. Therefore, lest there should be happening of such, I have thought good to make you privy to our state."

"Right, Master Whittingham! A pious hell would be a bad example to the people of Frankfort; who

have been bred to the notion — poor simple souls! — that a church should be something like heaven. Go your way, Master Whittingham! You shall have no sermon at all, this day. I shall give such commandment, and shall take other measures to end your wranglings."

The good Senator did his best. He immediately ordered a conference of the two parties by a committee of each; Cox and Lever for the one side, Whittingham and Knox for the other, with Master Valeran — at whose house they met — for their moderator and scribe; the magistrate conjuring them to devise some good order upon which they could agree, and commanding them to report the same to him. But "You shall" and "You sha' n't," "I will" and "I won't," from Doctor Cox, broke up the conference.[1]

The aggrieved party then sent a memorial to the Senate, complaining of the violation of their covenant and liberty; urging, with prophetic accuracy, that, if this was connived at or suffered by the magistrates, the controversy would be perpetuated in England; and petitioning that they would decree an arbitration of the whole matter by the referees named in the agreement of the 6th of February.

This brought Master Glawberge before the congregation on the next day, — the 22d. "Adopt the doctrine and ceremonies of the French church," said he, "or quit the city. Consult together; take your choice; and give me your answer before you disperse."

Driven to this extremity, Doctor Cox announced

[1] Page 40 of the Discours, and page 11 of the Introduction.

to the congregation that he had discovered a Liturgy besides the English one which was orthodox and sufferable! "I have read the French order," said he, "and consider it good and godly in all points. I move its adoption."

Whereupon the whole congregation gave consent; which was immediately reported, by a committee, to Master Glawberge, who was in waiting. Cox, one of the committee, was all smiles, deference, and repentance. "We confess, Master Glawberge," said he, "that our behavior hath been ill. We pray forgiveness; and that you continue to show us your accustomed favor and goodness."

This the magistrate gently and lovingly promised; fancying, good man, — for Doctor Cox had thrown dust in his eyes, — that the troublesome disturbance was over. Not so. The Coxian party were as resolute to establish the English Liturgy as before. Their bland assent to the French order was a feint to cover their purpose;[1] the greatest obstacle to which was — the reputation and influence of Master John Knox.

In those days, kings and queens were very sensitive; very jealous of their authority, — so jealous as to fancy a spectre on every bush, — or treason in a thousand cases where was no treason at all. A word, a look, a bit of mystery, would excite suspicion. To be suspected was to be a traitor; and then hanging or beheading came with little ado, — perchance with none. Of course, a death-warrant trod close on the heels of a *plausible* accusation. The two

[1] Discours, p. 49. Compare McCrie, 104.

might almost be said to enter a man's door together; and to walk out with him to the scaffold in a twinkling. We may imagine, therefore, the fright of Master Whittingham before the magistrates, on the morning after Master Glawberge's visit at the English chapel.

"Master John Knox is a minister in your congregation: what manner of man is he?"

"In troth, a learned, wise, grave, godly, sirs."

"Ay! say you so?"

"Verily, your worships; and of my knowledge."

"So say not some of your countrymen. You speak upon knowledge?"

"The knowledge of years."

"Well, well, Master Whittingham, we have held the like mind ourselves. Nevertheless, we may not shut our ears to contrary complaints. Here is a book, sir," — passing it into his hands. "It hath been brought to us by certain of your countrymen. You see it is in the English tongue. Translate to us the title-page; — we see Master Knox's name there."

"'An Admonition of Christians concerning the Present Troubles of England.' It is, sirs, a sermon preached by Master Knox in Buckinghamshire, a county of England, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign."

"In England! How came it here?"

"It seemeth they who produced it to your worships should best know."

"It is a novel thing for magistrates in Germany to sit in judgment on a discourse spoken in England. Howbeit, here it is; and we cannot dismiss it. Your countrymen of whom we just spake have accused

Master Knox before us, and in nine separate articles, of high treason against the Emperor. A serious charge, worthy sir, which by our allegiance and our office we are bound to examine. They say this book doth contain proofs of it, in certain places which they have marked. We do not understand the English tongue enough to judge with certainty whether those passages are proofs or not. We command you, therefore, to take the book to your house, and to bring to us, at one of the clock this afternoon, a translation of them in Latin. And we also charge you, on your peril, that you do therein convey the true and perfect sense of the English words. We repeat it, sir: fail not, at your peril, to give the true and perfect sense."

Poor Whittingham! The book weighed in his hand like a millstone; for he perceived at a glance that there was treason enough in it, according to the construction of imperial courts. What with his sense of Knox's jeopardy, and his horror at so atrocious a conspiracy "to despatch him out of the way," because the complainants "were offended at his sermon,"[1] and "for no other end than that they might with more ease attain the thing which they so greedily sought, — the use of the English Book,"[2] — he went his way in great distress. Besides, there was his own dilemma, — either to become himself, in the eye of the law, an accomplice in treason if he refused his task, or, if he complied, to become a party in the bloody plot against a guiltless brother.

"What shall I do?" he asked in great conflict of mind; "what *shall* I do, Master Knox?"

[1] Introduction to Discours, p. 11. [2] Discours, p. 44.

"Your duty; i' fair, clerkly letters and honest Latin, at one o' the clock precccsly. Dinna greet like a wee bairn, or an auld wife! Tak to the writing, man!"

"But they are terrible words; these most of all," —and he read: "'O England, England, if thou wilt obstinately return into Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry, such as the Emperor, (who is no less enemy to Christ than was Nero,) if for the pleasure and friendship (I say) of such princes thou return to thine old abominations before used under Papistry: then assuredly (O England) thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation by the means of those whose favor thou seekest, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ and serve Antichrist.' An these words come to judgment, Master Knox, your life be not worth a straw."

"Sae do I count it, i' the wark o' Him wha gied his life for John Knox and a' the household o' faith; and sae I tauld Master Isaack o' Kent threatening this same thing."

"Master Isaack! and threatened this! When? Where?"

"Nay, not *this* thing precccsly. But I ken, now, he meant it. It was when you and I, and Doctor Cox, and Master Lever, did confer at Master Valeran's house at command o' Master Glawberge. Master Isaack cometh to my house, and moveth me privily to cool my earnestness anent the English Buke. To the whilk I did mak answer, that my misliking wad na cool nor keep silence. Anon, he did assay to

wheedle wi' fair speech, promising favor and profit an I wad relent. After whilk, seeing he could na bribe, he did fa' to muckle threatening. Thereupon I makkit answer, that I wad wish my name to perish, an by that means God's Buke and God's glory might anely be seekit and prevail. Whereat he did gang awa i' muckle wrath; whilk was na the hail matter."

"Make a clean breast, Master Knox, of this strange affair, I beseech you," said Whittingham in amazement. "I would fain know the whole."

"By counsel o' certain priests, some plot was put thegither to cast me into prison; and, understanding it, he did declare that he ken'd weel I could na escape it. *This* maun be the plot; and he is mine accuser, — he and Master Parry."

"What priests?"

"Doctor Cox, — not able to endure a baffle fra' sae mean a fellow as mysel,[1] — Doctor Bale, Master Turner, and Master Jewell.[2] They did bethink themsels, I ween, o' the cry o' the auld Pharisees, — 'This man be not Cæsar's friend'; and sae they accuse me o' treason; albeit they love the Emperor na mair than the auld double-faced Jews loved Cæsar."[3]

"Horrible!" exclaimed Master Whittingham. "But why have you not made this known?"

"You are the first to tell me they ha' done it. I ken'd anely a plot o' *some* kind, and wha were the advisers, and wha wad do the wark. I did na think they wad ha heart to *do* sic things; sae I held my peace."

[1] Heyl. Presb., Bk. I. Sec. 18.
[2] Strype's Memorials, V. 406.
[3] Introduction to Discours, pp. 11, 12.

"You did wrong. You ought to take care for your safety."

"I dinna ken; I dinna ken. While I was na sure what thing they wad do, nor sure they wad do anything, I wad na expose their wicked schemings. It wad ha' been a needless reproach to the name o' Christ.[1] Now, man, put John Knox's words to Latin. Write and gang awa'."

"You had better go away yourself," exclaimed Whittingham, catching suddenly at Knox's words.

"Nay, John Knox will na rin frae barkin' dogs. The interpretation thereof wad be, 'Cowardly and guilty'; baith o' whilk be false."

"Will you walk into the lion's den?"

"I am i' the hand o' the Lord. Let Him do wi' me as he please."

When Whittingham presented his translation,[2] the magistrates directed that Knox should desist from preaching, until their further pleasure; in which he quietly acquiesced. He attended worship, however, the next day. But no sooner did his accusers see him there, than they left the congregation, declaring vehemently that they would not stay where he was.[3]

When the services were concluded, Whittingham and Williams were summoned before the magistrates, and informed that the enemies of Master Knox had just shown such impatience for his swift prosecution, that there was reason to fear they would transfer

[1] Introduction to Discours, pp. 11, 12.

[2] Discours, 44.

[3] McCrie, 105, note, cites Calderwood MS., I. 255.

the complaint to the Emperor's Council, then at Augsburg; that, should such a step be taken, Master Knox must be delivered up either to the Council or to Queen Mary,[1] with small chance of life; and that the magistrates revolted at being concerned in a proceeding so "bloody, cruel, and outrageous." They therefore privily requested Williams and Whittingham to urge Master Knox's voluntary and quiet[2] departure from their jurisdiction. This, although privately and kindly done, was equivalent to an order which ought to be obeyed; and to an honorable discharge, by which he was willing to profit.

On the evening of the 25th, about fifty of his devoted friends gathered at his house, when he comforted them by preaching of the future blessings secured for his people by the death and resurrection of their Lord. The next day he took his departure for Geneva, accompanied a few miles by some of his friends, who there took leave of him, "committing him to the Lorde with great heavinesse off harte and plentie off teares."[3]

"My good brother!" said Master Valeran at parting, "put in your heart one mite of charity for Doctor Cox. It will work like as the woman's little leaven in her mess of meal. You know he did love King Edward much, for he did teach him when a little boy-prince. What wonder if he say in his much fond love, 'My dear king, when he bid good by for heaven, did not need the Book for praying there, so he did leave it for a memory of himself.' So Doctor Cox love it much for King Edward's sake.

[1] McCrie, 106.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Discours, 45. McCrie, 121, 125.

"But that is not all. Think of the owl to whom the eagle did promise not to eat her children. She did tell him that he would know them to be of her by their pretty faces and sweet voices. Well, one day he did find them. They did look so ugly and screech so, that he did say, 'Sure these are not her children,' and ate them all up. It was a mistake of the mother; and she did mistake *because she was* the mother. Just so men fathers and men mothers do mistake of *their* children. Now that which makes us think too much of the child of the body, makes us think too much of the child of the brain. What is it? It is one law of Nature, — to the owl, to the woman, to the man, to you, to the Doctor. Now the Book is in some sort a child of his brain, for he did help make it. What wonder, then, if he make so big mistake, poor father man, as the mother owl did make? What wonder if he blame the honest Scot eagle? Good by! God be with you!"[1]

Thus, although neither his imprisonment nor his blood was on their hands, the partisans of the Eng-

[1] I have here brought to view, which I ought to do, what I conceive to have been a secret spring of the wrong conduct of a good man; and the only apology of which his case admits.

There is a choice aphorism of Fuller's, pregnant with instruction and beautiful in spirit, which I cannot help transcribing here, because it is in point: "What a monster might be made out of the best beauties in the world, if a limner should leave what is lovely, and only collect into one picture what he findeth amiss in them! I know there be white teeth in the blackest Black-moor; and a black bill in the whitest Swan. Worst men have something to be commended; best men, something in them to be condemned. Only to insist on men's faults, to render them odious, is no ingenious" — *sic* — "employment. God, we know, so useth his fan, that he keepeth the corn, but driveth away the chaff. But who is he that winnoweth so as to throw away the good grain, and retain the chaff only?" — Eccles. History, Bk. X. pp. 27, 28.

lish Liturgy were rid of Master Knox. They had the field clear for intrigue, and plied certain secret practices with so much art as to entangle Master Glawberge himself in their toils. Much to his astonishment, he found himself committed — by the pledges of a kinsman who acted as his proxy, and "whom Doctor Cox and the rest had won unto them" — to "unsay" his order for the French service, and to permit them the use of the English Book. They who were aggrieved by these proceedings assayed "to join themselves to some other church"; *to prevent* which, Doctor Cox obtained the interference of the civil authority. They remained, however, for a while, and expostulated with the others. But finding it in vain, and that, by means of "scoffs and taunts," their condition was becoming intolerable, they took their departure; some for Basil and some for Geneva.

David Whitehead was then chosen pastor of the church remaining;[1] who soon fell into long and sad dissensions, which resulted in another rupture.[2]

[1] Fuller, Bk. VIII. p. 31.

[2] "Upon his return to Geneva, Knox committed to writing a narrative of the causes of his retiring from Frankfort. This he intended to publish in his own defence; but, on mature deliberation, resolved to suppress it, and to leave his own character to suffer, rather than expose his brethren and the common cause. His narrative was preserved by Calderwood. It contains the names of the persons who accused him to the Senate of Frankfort, and of their advisers." — McCrie, 104, refers to Calderwood MS., I. 254.

What a strange representation of this affair is that given by Burnet (II. 528)! "Dr. Cox, . . . . . being a man of great reputation, procured an order from the Senate that the English forms should only be used in their church. . . . . Knox, being a man of hot temper, engaged in this matter very warmly; and got his friend Calvin to write somewhat sharply of some things in the English service. This made Knox and his party leave Frankfort and

We have thus passed in review the opening acts of a long and eventful drama, — the first contention, and the first breach, in the English Reformed Church; giving to our recitation the more minuteness, because each incident and change of scene sheds its own separate light upon the aims and principles of the actors.

In some strong points, the affair with Hooper and that at Frankfort were alike. Hooper objected to a robe; Knox, to a book. The scaffold was planned for Hooper; and the scaffold for Knox. Hooper was forbidden to serve God without a bishopric; Knox and his friends, to worship God without a liturgy. But here the parallel ends. Cranmer pleaded the law of the realm; Cox had no law to plead. Cranmer was inclined to yield; Cox scorned concession. Cranmer was entangled in a broil; Cox took a journey to make one. Cranmer and his bishops contended in open field; Cox and his clique were

go to Geneva. Knox had also written indecently of the Emperor, which obliged the Senate of Frankfort to require him to be gone out of their bounds." One does not like to trust himself in making comment on such a statement. I am inclined to think, however, that Burnet may have been innocent of intentional misrepresentation; for his works show that he was not a man remarkably profound or clear-headed; whereas the "Discours" is, perhaps, of all narrative compositions in the English language, the most difficult to be understood.

Let us also hear "honest Master Strype" (Memorials, V. 406, folio edit., 242): "Knox held and published some dangerous principles about government, which were so disliked by the chief of the English divines there, as Cox, Bale, Turner of Windsor, Jewell, and others, that they thought it fit, and that *for their own security*, to disown him publicly, not only by discharging him from the ministry, but also by making open complaint against him to the magistrates. And so Mr. Isaack and Parry brought in writing several passages," &c. And this Strype writes after referring to the book entitled "The Troubles at Frankfort," and in the face of it!

sly and perfidious. Hooper was assailed where he owed allegiance; Knox and his church, where they owed none. In the former case, there was harshness to an individual; in the latter, wrong to a peaceful and thriving community. The former was but one among thousands, — natural, under the mixed authority of Church and State; the latter, a grievous fact, without authority, perhaps without precedent.

Thus rapidly and ominously did the genius of civil ecclesiasticism unfold itself during the little span of time from the death of Edward to the martyrdom of Cranmer.

We say, "ominously"; for at that time it might have been fairly asked, If men in exile, in poverty, under God's rod of discipline, would do unbidden and ruthless battle for a ritual abrogated while yet in the greenness of its youth, what might they not do, should that ritual regain the sanction of law, and grow to a muscular manhood? If, under such circumstances of depression, they could make onslaught upon brethren, and drive them from their refuge, their livelihood, and their altar, what might not they and their disciples do, at home, in fulness of bread, in towers of strength, on the wave of prosperity, backed by law, and stimulated by monarchs who would not brook dissent?

There is a graver, harder question. What, *besides* the union of Church and State, has driven dissentients in the Church of England to the wall? The plea in Hooper's case was, that the ritual was law. The plea after the Church's restoration was, that the ritual was law. But at Frankfort where it was not law, at Frankfort when it was nowhere law,

the pretext did not exist. There has been, therefore, some moving spring against dissentients back of law, and for which it has served as a screen. What was it?

But to return. Both the controversies which we have narrated were about ceremonials. Both were about canons which assume the Testament of Christ to be as little, as symbolic, as precise, as rigid in its requisitions, as the Leviticus of Moses; whose enforcement, based on sad ignorance of human nature, and committed to despotic hands, has wrought more convulsions and eliminated more political truths than any other one measure of secular despotism. We shall see something of this as we trace the operation of the English Liturgy when reinstated as law; but only something, for we propose to follow it no further than concerns the Anglo-Saxon settlements of the New World.

# CHAPTER VI.

## ACCESSION, AND FIRST PARLIAMENT, OF ELIZABETH.

THE DEATH OF MARY. — ELIZABETH PROCLAIMED. — HER ADDRESS TO THE COUNCIL. — HER FIRST CABINET. — HER PERSON. — HER PUBLIC COURTESIES. — THE FUNERAL SERMON. — INDICATIONS OF A CHANGE OF RELIGION. — PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLE. — THE LORD KEEPER'S SPEECH. — SPEAKER OF THE COMMONS ELECTED; "DISABLED"; "ALLOWED." — POSITION OF THE CROWN. — THE COMMONS PETITION THE QUEEN TO MARRY. — HER ANSWER. — THE ACT OF SUPREMACY. — THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

### 1558-9.

MARY had worn the crown of England five years and five months.[1] In that brief time, she had disgraced her government by losing the key to France, which had hung at the royal girdle more than two hundred years; she had exhausted her treasury and extorted enormous loans from her subjects; she had doated on her husband, and been stung in her soul by his coldness; she had made herself ridiculous by public thanks to God for a visionary heir; had been lampooned for her credulity; had sunk under disappointment, peevishness, marital neglect, and disease; and now lay moaning upon her bed with "Calais in her heart,"[2] knowing that her husband

[1] Cecil, in Murdin, 747.

[2] Just before her death, "hir councell seeing hir sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more readie consolation vnto hir, feared (as they said) that she tooke some thought for the king's majestie hir husband, which was gone from hir. In deed (said she) that maie be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pearseth mine oppressed mind:

had no intent to return, that she was hated of her subjects, that she was about to die.[1]

Nor was this all of melancholy which had marked her reign. Nearly three hundred Protestants, fifty-five of whom were of her own sex, had been burned alive for their religion; and about a hundred more had been put to death, on the same account, by imprisonment, torture, and starvation.[2]

In view of her approaching decease, Mary sent the following message, by two of her Council, to her sister Elizabeth: "My sickness lieth sore upon me, and hath brought me to the gates of death. It is my intent to bequeath to you my crown. In consideration of so great a favor, pledge me that you will make no change in the Privy Council, and none in religion, and that you will honorably cancel my debts."

"Tell the queen," replied Elizabeth, "that I am very sorry to hear of her Highness's malady; but that there is no reason why I should thank her for her intention to give me the crown of this kingdom. She hath neither the power of bestowing it upon me, nor can I lawfully be deprived of it, since it is my peculiar and hereditary right. With respect to

but what that was, she would not expresse to them. Albeit afterward she opened the matter more plainlie to mistresse Rise and mistresse Clarentius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of mistresse Rise hirselfe), who then being most familiar with hir, and most bold about hir, told hir that they feared she tooke thought for king Philips departing from hir. Not that onelie (said she) but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calis lieing in my hart." — Holingshed, IV. 137.

[1] Hume, II. 534, 546, 560.

[2] Fox, III. 760. Cecil's Journal; Murdin, 746, 747. Burleigh's "Execution of Justice," in Harleian Miscellany, II. 131. Harl. Misc., I. 209. D'Ewes, 1. Rapin, II. 48, note.

the Council, I think myself as much at liberty to choose my counsellors as was she to choose her own. As to religion, I promise thus much, that I will not change it, provided only it can be proved by the Word of God, which shall be the only foundation and rule of my religion. And when, lastly, she requireth the payment of her debts, she seemeth to me to require nothing more than what is just; and I will take care that they shall be paid, as far as may lie in my power." [1]

Mary's last Parliament assembled on the 5th of November, 1558.[2] About nine o'clock in the forenoon of the 17th,[3] the Lords received information that the queen had died at an early hour of the morning.[4] They immediately sent a message to the Commons requiring their immediate attendance in the Upper House, to receive a communication of great importance.[5] Upon their appearance, the Lord Chancellor Heath — who was also Archbishop of York — announced to them the death of the queen. "But God of his mercy," said he, "hath preserved to us the Lady Elizabeth, whose title to the crown none can, none ought to doubt. Inasmuch, therefore, as you, knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons, have been elected to represent the common people of the realm, you can in no wise better discharge your trust, than by joining the prelates and peers here assembled in publishing the next successor to the crown. And inasmuch as the Lords

[1] Zurich Letters, No. III. p. 4; Sandys to Bullinger, Dec. 20, 1558.

[2] Echard, 768.

[3] Ibid., 787.

[4] "3 or 4 o'clock," Holingshed. IV. 137. "Between 5 and 6 o'clock," Holingshed, IV. 121, 759.

[5] Hayward, 3. Camden, 11.

spiritual and temporal have with one mind and voice so determined, we have desired your presence, that with joint consent the Lady Elizabeth may by us be forthwith proclaimed Queen." Instantly upon these words, it "was cried and re-cried from all sides," "God save the Queen Elizabeth! God save the Queen! Long may she reign, — happily and long!"[1]

As the death of a sovereign dissolved a Parliament,[2] — and this continued to be the case until 1696, — the Lords and Commons immediately dispersed, and before noon[3] proclaimed Elizabeth, from the palace at Westminster and afterwards from the Cross in Cheapside, "Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and Defendrix of the Faith." The people shouted as had the Parliament, but with a heartier joy; for the prelates, the nobility, and most of the Commons were only loyal Catholics, while the people were mostly Protestants, terror-stricken by the late atrocities, and hoping for common humanity under a princess reputed to be of their own religion. None but the priests mourned.[4]

A deputation of the Council was immediately sent to Hatfield, where the princess Elizabeth — long under restraint and espionage — had quietly applied herself to reading and study.[5] "My lords," said she, after listening to their congratulatory address, "the law of nature moveth me to sorrow for my sister. The burden that is fallen upon me maketh me amazed[6]; [illegible]

[1] Holingshed, IV. 155. Echard, 787. Camden, 12. Stow's Preface. Warner, II. 405. Burnet, II. 578. Lingard, VII. 250.

[2] Holingshed, ib. Echard, 786.

[3] Holingshed, ib.

[4] Echard, 787. Hayward, 3.

[5] Echard, 785, 788.

[6] Perplexed.

and yet, considering I am God's creature, ordained to obey his appointment, I will thereto yield, requiring from the bottom of my heart that I may have assistance of his grace to be the minister of his heavenly will in this office now committed to me. And, as I am but one body, naturally considered, — though by his permission a body politic to govern, — so I shall require you all, my lords, — chiefly you of the nobility, every one in his degree and power, — to be assistant to me; that I with my ruling, and you with your service, may make a good account to Almighty God, and leave some comfort to our posterity in earth. I mean to direct all mine actions by good advice and counsel; and therefore, at this present, considering that divers of you be of the ancient nobility, having your beginning and estates of my progenitors, kings of this realm, and thereby ought in honor to have the more natural care for the maintaining of my estate and this commonwealth," — and that "some others have been of long experience in governance, and enabled, by my father of noble memory, my brother, and my late sister, to bear office," — and that "the rest of you being upon special trust for your service considered and rewarded, — my meaning is to require of you all, nothing more but faithful hearts in such service as from time to time shall be in your powers towards the preservation of me and this commonwealth. And for counsel and advice, I shall accept you of my nobility, and such other of you the rest, as in consultation I shall think meet, and shortly appoint; to the which, also, with their advice, I will join to their aid, and for the ease of their burden,

others meet for my service. And they which I shall not appoint, let them not think the same for any disability in them, but for that I consider a multitude doth make rather disorder and confusion than good counsel; and of my good will you shall not doubt, using yourselves as appertaineth to good and loving subjects."[1]

Elizabeth had already received an advisory note from Sir William Cecil, who had been her brother Edward's Secretary of State, in which he had proposed that prudential policy in the selection of her Council which is intimated in the above address, and which she immediately adopted.[2] Her sister's Council were nominally Catholics; a very few of them, really so; the rest had veered in their religion as the wind from the Court had set.[3] Elizabeth retained them all for a while,[4] though she soon reduced their number to eleven,[5] adding eight who were known Protestants. One of these was Cecil, "an exceeding wise man, and as good as many,"[6] whom she also made immediately[7] her Secretary of State; another, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, under which title he had

[1] Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 67.

It is intimated, in Harrington's Nugae Antiquæ, that this address was delivered in the House of Lords after the assembling of Parliament in January. But there is evidence in the address itself that it was uttered by the queen before the appointment of her Privy Council, which was very soon after her accession. I may be in error in stating that it was uttered to the *deputation* of Queen Mary's Council. It may have been spoken to the Lords *in general* at the Charter House, where she stayed "many dayes," says Stow.

[2] Lloyd, 473. Burnet, II. 277. Lingard, VII. 251.

[3] Burnet, II. 581. Hallam, 72.

[4] Hayward, 11, 12. Naunton, 189. Echard, 789.

[5] Zurich Letters, p. 5, note.

[6] Camden, 13. Warner, II. 406.

[7] Naunton, 195. Strype's Annals, I. 8.

also the honor and authority of Chancellor of England.[1]

Elizabeth was now in the first blush of womanhood, — just entered upon her twenty-sixth year. Her complexion and hair were light; her forehead large and fair; her eyes lively and of a pleasing expression, though short-sighted; her nose, somewhat aquiline; her face, wanting in the regularities of complete beauty, yet oval and perfectly fair, and her countenance so bright as covered smaller defects; her stature, tall; her figure, slender, erect, and symmetrical. To these favors, nature — or rather her own princely spirit — had superadded the crowning charm of a serene, majestic grace in all her movements. In everything she said or did, this majestic air inspired awe rather than love; yet she could assume a fascinating manner which few could resist; and her greatness and sweetness were so blended, that all admired her.[2]

[1] Camden, 235. Echard, 790. D'Ewes, 70 *bis*.

Cecil was sworn of the Privy Council on the 20th. (Strype's Annals, I., Introd. p. 8.) The queen's charge to him upon that occasion — probably the form of injunction to each Councillor as he took his oath — was in these words: —

"I give you this charge, that you shall be of my Privy Council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the state, and that, without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel that you think best: and if you shall know anything to be declared to me of secrecy, you shall show it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein. And therefore herewith I charge you." — Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 68.

Whatever other counsellors may have done, most scrupulously and literally did Cecil observe this charge.

[2] Hayward, 7, who says, "of stature mean"; i. e. of medium stature. Naunton, 183. Fuller's Holy State, 318. Echard, 788.

With such personal attractions, and with the advantage of a Protestant reputation, notwithstanding her profession of Romanism during the tyranny of her sister, it is no wonder that she was hailed with enthusiasm by a people but yesterday trembling and in sackcloth under a reign of terror.

Nor was this all. While royal in all her port, she was affable; while stately, she could stoop; while moving in queenly pomp, she could smile; while heralded by trumpets and thronged by a gorgeous nobility, she could hear a poor man's prayer, cherish his modest gift, return his greeting, and thank him for his loyalty and love. Of her power thus to win the hearts of the populace, she gave ample proof in her progress from Hatfield to the Charter House on the 23d of the month, the sixth day after her sister's decease;[1] and again, from the Charter House to the Tower; and afterwards, from the Tower to Westminster. By her eyes, by her courtesies, by her smiles, by her speech, by her benedictions, by her condescending kindnesses, she proclaimed to the understanding of the meanest of the thousands who shouted acclamation, that she was not so much their queen as their protectress, that they were not so much her subjects as her people, her charge, her family. And as she gave demonstration upon demonstration of this, "thereupon the people again

[1] Lodge, I. 301, Letter of the Lords of the Council. Historical writers do not agree about the dates of the queen's movements previous to her coronation. Burnet, Echard, Speed, Rapin, are all wrong about the time of her departure from Hatfield; stating it to have been the 19th, instead of the 23d. Strype, in his Annals, has it right; and gives also the letter referred to in the text; a paper of paramount authority.

redoubled the testimonies of their joys."[1] To the man who had been her jailer, and who had been so not without harshness, she now gave but a pleasant jest. She received with courtesy the bishops under whose administration she had suffered, and who had counselled against her life. Through these successive progresses, she frowned but once. It was upon Bonner, the Bishop of London, who had sent so many Protestants to the stake, and had gloated over their torments. His associates, she permitted to kiss her hand; but she turned in horror from him, as from one who was stained with innocent blood.[2]

As she entered the Tower, on the 28th of November,[3] she paused; and turning to her attendants, said impressively: "Some have fallen from being princes of this land, to be prisoners in this place; I am raised from being prisoner in this place, to be prince of this land. That dejection was a work of God's justice; this advancement is a work of his mercy. As they were to yield patience for the one, so I must bear myself towards God thankful, and toward men merciful and beneficial, for the other."[4]

On the thirteenth day of December,[5] Elizabeth attended the funeral service of her sister in Westminster Abbey; where "a *black* sermon" was preached by *White*, Bishop of Winchester. It was the eulogy of a Catholic queen by a Catholic priest ambitious of martyrdom. After lauding her high parentage, her bountiful disposition, her great gravity, her rare

[1] Hayward, 6, 7, 16–18. Holingshed, IV. 159, 175. Echard, 791.

[2] Echard, 788. Burnet, II. 579.

[3] Cecil, in Murdin, 747. Speed, 857.

[4] Hayward, 11.

[5] Holingshed, IV. 158. Hayward, 12. Cecil, in Murdin, 747.

devotion, — for she kneeled so much in prayer, he said, that her knees were calloused, — her justice, her clemency, her grievous but patient death, he was overcome by weeping. At length he recovered, saying: "Queen Mary hath left a sister to succeed her, also a lady of great worth, whom we are now bound to obey, for a living dog is better than a dead lion; and I hope she shall reign well and prosperously over us. But still I must say, with my text, 'I praised the dead more than the living'; for certain it is that Mary chose the better part."

At the close of the services, the queen, justly irritated by his public insolence — although, happily, his sermon was in Latin — ordered his arrest, and confined him to his house a month, which was to the assembling of Parliament;[1] but, true to her present policy of lenity, she punished the currish prelate only by depriving him, in a few months, of his office, and disappointing him of the crown of martyrdom.[2]

The first decided indication of the queen's purposes regarding religion was given on Christmas day. Every preparation had been made for observing the festival according to the usages of the Romish Church. At the time of the morning service she repaired to her great closet, — adjoining her chapel, — with her nobles and ladies, as was customary at such high feasts, where she perceived a bishop preparing himself to say Mass after the old form. She remained until the Gospel was done, and when all looked for her to have offered accord-

[1] Burnet, II. 586.

[2] Harrington's Brief View of the Church, in Nugæ Antiquæ, II. 84. Zurich Letters, p. 16, and note 2.

ing to the old fashion, she suddenly rose; and, taking her nobles with her, returned from the closet and the Mass to her privy chamber; a significant act, "which was strange unto divers."[1]

The Protestants, presuming upon her intentions, began, first in private houses and then in churches, to preach the doctrines of the Reformation, and to use the service-book of King Edward. The Romish priests retorted with sharpness. Thus many wrangling discourses began to be put forth from the pulpits, before large and excited audiences. To prevent these contentions, the queen, by proclamation on the 27th of December,[2] forbade all preaching, and all other religious service except the Romish, until a Form of Religion should be determined by Parliament; for "earnest as she was in the cause of true religion, and desirous as she was of a thorough change as early as possible, she could not be induced to effect such change without the sanction of law; lest the matter should seem to have been accomplished, not so much by the judgment of discreet men, as in compliance with the impulse of a furious multitude."[3] The only Romish rite which she inhibited was the elevation of the host, or sacramental bread; at the same time ordering that the Gospels, the Epistles, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments should be recited in the English, instead of the Latin language.[4]

[1] Fitzwilliam to More, Dec. 26th, 1558; in Ellis, 2d Series, Vol. II. p. 262.

[2] Cecil, in Murdin, 747. Hayward, 5. Camden, 16, 31. Speed, 857. Strype's Annals, I. 59.

[3] Zurich Letters, No. XIII.; Jewel to P. Martyr.

[4] Echard, 790. Camden, 16, 17. Hayward, 13. Collier, VI. 200. Burnet, II. 585. Strype's Annals, I. 59, 60, 77. Hume, II. 566,

The day on which this proclamation was made, Thomas Parrys was committed to ward for permitting a religious assembly in Worcester House, which was in his charge.[1] Yet, in "open *private* houses," Protestant worship, with preaching the Gospel and ministering of the Lord's Supper, was maintained, by connivance of the magistrates and even of the queen herself.[2] During the reign of Queen Mary, a single Protestant congregation had secretly sustained the preaching and ordinances of the Gospel, choosing their ministers and deacons; though often dispersed by their persecutors, and many of them burned at the stake.[3] Immediately upon Elizabeth's accession, this congregation appeared openly, but in *private* houses, — as just stated, — and were unmolested. "Numbers flocked to them"; and they whom the terrors of persecution had caused to conform to Popery, returned to the flock whence they had strayed, confessing and asking forgiveness. "Nothing could be more delightful," wrote an eye-witness, "than the mutual tears of all parties; on the one side, lamenting their sins; and on the other, congratulating them on their reconciliation and renewed communion in Christ Jesus."

Not only were these assemblies thus maintained in the houses of London citizens contrary to the statutes in force, and while "Masses were being celebrated . . . . . with the whole authority of law and of proclamation," but even in some *churches* — prob-

567. Neal, I. 71, and note. Lingard, 255, 256, note.

[1] Strype's Annals, I. 59.

[2] Zurich Letters, No. XXIX.; Lever to Bullinger.

[3] Zurich Letters, No. XXIX.; also No. CXXX.; George Withers to Frederick III., Elector Palatine.

ably rural parishes — the Gospel was preached to large and eager assemblies, whose "many tears bore witness that the preaching of the Gospel is more effectual to true repentance than anything that the whole world can either imagine or approve." This preaching was furnished at the request of the people, and mostly, if not entirely, by the exiles who had returned from Germany. These men "considered that the silence imposed" — by the queen's proclamation — "for a long and uncertain period, was not agreeable to the command of Paul to preach the word of God in season and out of season."[1]

On the 15th of January, 1558–9,[2] the queen was crowned; and on the 25th, her first Parliament assembled,[3] having been prorogued from the 23d. In the House of Lords her Majesty, clad in her imperial robes, took her seat in the chair of state; and the bishops and temporal lords took their respective places, arrayed in their Parliamentary robes, — mantles, hoods, and surcoats of crimson or scarlet velvet, and furred with meniver. The knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons, having been notified that the queen and her lords were in readiness to receive them, forthwith made their appearance without the bar at the lower end of the house. The Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, immediately left his position a little behind the cloth of state, — his proper *seat*, which was front of the throne, he never occupied when her Majesty was present, — and conferred privately with the queen

[1] Zurich Letters, No. VIII., Jewel to P. Martyr; No. XXIX., Lever to Bullinger.

[2] Cecil, in Murdin, 747. Hayward, 18.

[3] D'Ewes, 3, 9.

for a few moments. He then resumed his position, and there opened the Parliament by declaring, in her Majesty's name and behalf, her reasons for summoning their attendance. They were called, he said, to make proper laws for a uniform Order of Religion; to reform evils in the civil order of the realm; and to devise remedies for losses and decays which had happened of late to the imperial crown. He exhorted them, in pursuing the first business, "to fly from all manner of contentions, reasonings, and disputations, and from all sophistical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quidditics, meeter for ostentation of wit than consultation of weighty matters, comelier for scholars than counsellors, more beseeming for schools than for parliament-houses; that no opprobrious words — as schismatic, heretic, Papist, and such like names — be used; that they should avoid anything which might breed idolatry or superstition on the one hand, or irreligion on the other"; that in pursuing the second business, "they should consider whether any laws should be repealed, and whether any were too severe or too sharp, or too soft and too gentle." Then, while thanking God for a princess "that is not, nor ever meaneth to be, so wedded to her own will, that, for satisfaction thereof, she would give just occasion to her people of any inward grudge, — a princess to whom no worldly thing under the sun is so dear as the hearty love and good-will of her nobles and subjects," — he deplored "the loss of Calais, of the crown revenues, of munition and artillery, the incredible sum of moneys owing by the state, and the biting interest of the debt"; he spake of the

"new increased charge for the continual maintenance of the navy, the strongest wall of defence that can be against the enemies of the island"; from all which he argued the necessity of a subsidy. "Yet," he added, "her Majesty's will and pleasure is, that nothing shall be demanded or required of her loving subjects, but that which they, of their own free wills and liberalities, be well contented, readily and gladly, frankly and freely to offer." He concluded his address by directing the members of the Commons to repair to their House, there "to select one both grave and discreet, who, after being by them presented to her Highness, and that presentation by her admitted, should then occupy the office and room of their common mouth and speaker" between her Majesty and themselves.[1]

The Commons then retired to their own chamber, where they remained for some time in silence, or conversing one with another in undertones, as if in doubt what manner of proceeding to adopt. In truth, they were only waiting for a nomination of Speaker from some one intrusted with the queen's mind;[2] and Mr. Treasurer of the queen's household, John Mason, was only waiting for a sufficient apology, by the length of the silence, to save appearances. At length he rose in his place uncovered, saying, that "the queen's command for the election of a Speaker claimed their immediate attention; that, finding others silent, he thought it his duty to expedite business by venturing upon a nomination; that he would therefore commend to their choice Sir Thomas Gargrave, Knight, one of the

[1] D'Ewes, 10 – 14.

[2] Hallam, 150, note.

Honorable Council in the north parts, a worthy member of the House, and learned in the laws of the realm; that he did not intend by this commendation to debar others from uttering their free opinions, and nominating any other one whom they might think better qualified; that he would therefore desire them to make known their opinions." Whereupon, with one consent and voice, the House did allow and approve of Mr. Treasurer's nomination, and elected the said Sir Thomas Gargrave to be their Prolocutor, or Speaker.

Sir Thomas, like others in similar situations, was modest; and although, doubtless, he had had sufficient warning, he was much confused by the propounding of so great an honor and so unexpected. At length he stood up uncovered, and, in all humility, "disabled himself," as was the phrase of the day. In other words, he declared "that he was unfurnished with that experience and those other qualities which were requisite for the undertaking and undergoing of so great a charge; that therefore he felt constrained humbly to request the House to proceed to the election of some other more able and worthy member."

But the House persisting, and calling upon him to take his place, and he being so overcome with a sense of his unworthiness that he had no heart to do so, Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Comptroller of her Majesty's household did kindly go to his aid; and, taking him each by an arm, led him to the chair, where having sat awhile covered, he rallied, rose, uncovered, returned thanks, and promised to do his best.[1]

[1] D'Ewes, 40.

On Saturday, the 28th, her Majesty and her Lords being present in the Upper House and arrayed in their several Parliamentary robes,[1] the Commons, having been notified thereof, repaired thither about one o'clock in the afternoon, their Speaker elect being led up to the rail or bar at the lower end of the House by two of the most honorable personages of the Commons. After making three reverences to her Majesty, he again "disabled himself," alleging that "there were many of the Lower House more worthy the honor and more sufficient for the charge; and humbly advising her Majesty to discharge him and to order a new election." But Sir Nicholas Bacon, by her Majesty's commandment, returned answer, "that the discernment of his ability or disability pertained not to him, but to her; that in the very speech by which he had disabled himself, he had proved his ability; that therefore she would by no means excuse him, but did hereby *ratify and confirm* his election." Whereupon Sir Thomas did humbly submit to undergo the charge and service thus imposed upon him, and then preferred to her Majesty four petitions:—"First, desiring liberty of access for the House of Commons to her Majesty's presence upon all necessary and urgent occasions. Second, that if he should unwillingly miscarry in the discharge of his office, he might be pardoned. Third, that the House might have liberty and freedom of speech. Fourth, that they and their attendants might be exempted from all manner of arrests and suits during the continuance of the Parliament." To these petitions the Lord Keeper replied: "Her

[1] D'Ewes, 41.

Highness is right well contented to grant them unto you. Marry, with these conditions and cautions: — First, that your access be void of importunity and for matters needful and in time convenient. For the second, that your diligence and carefulness, Mr. Speaker, be such that the defaults in that part be as rare as may be; whereof her Majesty doubteth little. For the third, her Highness is right well contented; but so as they be neither unmindful or uncareful of their duties, reverence, and obedience to their sovereign. For the last, that none seek the privilege for the only defrauding of creditors, or for the maintenance of injuries and wrongs." The Speaker, being thus allowed, returned with the Commons to their chamber, with the Sergeant of the House bearing the mace before him; whereupon her Majesty and the Lords also rose and departed.[1]

Such, in all particulars, was the routine of forms by which every new Parliament was organized; and they are here noted, not only because they have some intrinsic historical interest, but also, and chiefly, for the better understanding of some things to be hereafter stated.

Before introducing an important petition which the House of Commons presented to the queen, another matter claims attention; both as explanatory of the petition itself, and as the only key to some of the most important events of this reign, — to the behavior of queen, Lords, and Commons, Churchmen, Puritans, and Papists. We refer to the succession

[1] D'Ewes, 15–17.

of the crown. Elizabeth's right — which for various politic reasons was admitted by this Parliament without discussion or demurrer[1] — was based upon the will of her father, Henry VIII., and the virtue of his connection with her mother, Anne Boleyn; both of which had been technically legalized by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the realm. The verity of marriage in this case, and, of course, the legality of the will so far as Elizabeth's succession was concerned, both hinged upon the legitimacy or illegitimacy of Henry's previous connection with Catharine of Aragon, his brother Arthur's widow; she being yet living when Henry took Anne as his wife. For the marriage with a brother's widow — counted incestuous — the Pope's special dispensation had been obtained soon after Henry, at the age of seventeen years, came to the throne.

Elizabeth and her Parliament held, that Catharine, being the widow of Arthur, could not become Henry's lawful wife, — the dispensation of the Pope to the contrary notwithstanding; that, consequently, Henry's marriage with Anne was true and lawful, her daughter Elizabeth incorrupt, and the will of Henry touching Elizabeth's succession valid.

The Catholics held, that Catharine was Henry's lawful wife, although his brother's widow; that she was such *by virtue* of the Pope's dispensation; that, the Pope having never annulled this marriage, that of Anne was untrue, and its fruit illegitimate and incapable of inheriting the crown.[2]

Besides all this, Queen Mary's Parliament had

[1] 1 Eliz., Cap. III. D'Ewes, 19, 47 *bis*, 49.

[2] Rapin, II. 50.

declared the marriage with Catharine to have been lawful, and never to have been dissolved but by death; and this by a law yet unrepealed.[1]

If the reasoning of Elizabeth and her Parliament was sound, she was the lawful possessor of the throne. If that of the Catholics was right, the throne should have been filled by Mary Queen of Scots, in virtue of her descent from Henry VII. and his daughter Margaret, the wife of James IV. of Scotland. This Catholic view of the case must be kept in mind, as the ground of many acts of Parliament in future years, and as the occasion of many plots against Elizabeth, both at home and abroad. Indeed, at this very time "the king of France did labor tooth and nail at Rome, that Mary Queen of Scots might be pronounced lawful Queen of England."[2]

This queen, now married to the heir-apparent to the throne of France, although, at the command of her husband and his father, she quartered the arms of England with the arms of Scotland upon her household equipage, and in public instruments used the style of "Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland,"[3] did not herself urge that Elizabeth was a usurper. But she did justly claim — nor was her claim controverted — that she was next heir to the English throne, should Elizabeth, without heir of her body, decease.

Mary of Scotland was a thorough Catholic; and nothing was a matter of so much apprehension to the present Parliament as the possibility that another

[1] Rapin, II. 50. Hume, II. 519. [2] Camden, 33.
[3] Camden, 15, 33.

devotee of Rome should succeed to the English throne. To provide against this possibility, they were anxious for their queen's marriage, that, by becoming a mother, she might cut off Mary's claim for ever. Commoners and statesmen alike exclaimed bitterly: "This delay of ripe time for marriage doth imperil the loss of the realm; for without posterity of her Highness, *what hope is left unto us?*"[1]

The Commons had hardly composed themselves to business, when, on the 4th of February, many arguments were urged by different members, that the Queen's Majesty should be petitioned, and in form, to dispose herself to marriage.[2] The subject was again before them on the 6th, when a committee, consisting of the Speaker, all the Privy Council, and thirty other members of the House, were appointed "to petition her Majesty touching her marriage."[3] The temporal Lords did not join with them; not because they did not accord with them, but lest any one of them should seem to be moved therein by a hope of his own elevation as consort-royal.[4] The queen, having been first requested[5] "that they might have access to her presence to move a matter unto her which they esteemed of great importance for the general state of all the realm," granted their request; and a time was set for audience.[6] This set day does not appear upon record; but it must have been before the 10th of the month, for on that day the committee reported to the House her Majesty's answer.[7]

[1] Haynes, 212; Chaloner to Cecil.
[2] D'Ewes, 44. Speed, 858.
[3] D'Ewes, 45.
[4] Camden, 25.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Hayward, 30.
[7] D'Ewes, 46. Hayward says: "*The Commons* were brought be-

Upon the day appointed, her Majesty took her seat in royal state in the great gallery of her palace of Whitehall;[1] when the Speaker of the House, having "some few selected men" — the rest of the Committee — "with him,"[2] addressed her, in substance as follows. He said, that "it was the single, the only, the all-comprehending prayer of all Englishmen, that the happiness received by her gracious government might be perpetuated to the nation unto all eternity; that this could not be, — her Majesty being mortal, — except, by marriage, she should bring forth children, heirs of their mother's virtues and empire";[3] "that thus only could the dangers be prevented which would ensue to the state upon her death, and those also which in the mean time did threaten herself; and that, thereby, as well the fears of her faithful subjects and friends, as the ambitious hopes of her enemies, should clean be cut off."[4]

"After a sweet graced silence, with a princely countenance and voice, and with a gesture somewhat quick, but not violent,"[5] the queen returned the following characteristic answer.

"In a matter most unpleasing, most pleasing to

fore her," when the petition was preferred; D'Ewes, that on the 10th "the Speaker declared the Queen's Majesty's answer to the message, which was read to the House by Mr. Mason," the treasurer of the queen's household, — a report not consistent with the presence of the whole House when the answer was pronounced, which Hayward says was done in immediate reply to the petition. It is impossible to reconcile the two. Camden is explicit, saying, "the Speaker, with some few selected men," appeared before the queen.

[1] Hayward, 31. Holingshed, IV. 178.

[2] Camden, 25.

[3] Ibid., 26.

[4] Hayward, 31.

[5] Ibid.

me are the good zeal and loving care you seem to have as well towards me as to the Commonwealth; for which, as I have good cause, so do I give you all my hearty thanks.

"Concerning marriage, which ye so earnestly move me to, I have been long since persuaded that I was sent into the world by God to think and do those things chiefly which may tend to his glory; and sith I first had this consideration, I happily chose this kind of life in which I yet live. From which if either offered marriages of most potent princes, or the danger of death intended against me, would have removed me, I had long agone enjoyed the honor of a husband. These things have I thought upon when I was a private person. But now that the public care of governing the kingdom is laid upon me, to draw upon me also the cares of marriage, may seem a point of inconsiderate folly.

"Yea, to satisfy you, I have already joined myself in marriage to a husband, namely, the kingdom of England. And behold — which I marvel ye have forgotten — the pledge of this my wedlock," — drawing from her finger her coronation ring. "And do not," she added, after a pause, — "do not upbraid me with miserable lack of children; for every one of you, and as many as are Englishmen, are children and kinsmen to me, of whom if God deprive me not, — which may he forefend! — I cannot, without injury, be counted barren.

"For the manner of your petition, I like it well, and take it in good part; because it is simple, and containeth no limitation of place or person. If it had been otherwise; if you had taken upon you to

confine, or rather to bind, my choice, to draw my love to your liking, to frame my affection according to your fantasies, — I must have misliked it very much, and thought it in you a very great presumption, — for a guerdon constrained, and a gift freely given, can never agree together.

"Nevertheless, if any of you be in suspect that, if it please God to incline my heart to another kind of life, I shall determine anything which may be prejudicial to the Commonwealth by choosing a husband that will not have as great care of the same as myself, — put that jealousy clean out of your heads; for upon whomsoever my choice shall fall, my will and best endeavor shall not fail that he shall be as careful for you as myself, who will never spare to spend my life as a loving mother for the preservation and prosperity of the realm.

"And" — she added, in words so beautifully child-like towards God, and so prophetically descriptive of the *ultimate* issues, as to claim our special remembrance — "and albeit it shall please God that I still persevere in a virgin's state, yet you must not fear but he will so work in my heart and in your wisdom, that provision shall be made, in fitting time, whereby the realm shall not remain destitute of an heir who may be a fit governor, and, peradventure, more beneficial than such offspring as might come of me, considering that the issue of the best princes many times groweth out of kind and becometh ungracious. The dangers which you fear are neither so certain nor of such a nature, but you may repose yourselves upon the providence of God and the good provisions of the state. Wits curious in casting things to come

are often hurtful; for that the affairs of this world are subject to so many accidents, that seldom doth that happen which the wisdom of men doth seem to foresee.

"As for me, it shall be sufficient that, when I let my last breath, a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having lived and reigned so many years, died a virgin.[1]

"And here I end, and take your coming in very good part, and again give hearty thanks to you all; yet more for your zeal and good meaning than for the matter of your suit."[2]

It is difficult to understand how this answer, which was a denial of the petitioners, or which at best only admitted the remote possibility of compliance, could have given satisfaction; unless it were merely for the condescending grace and womanly tenderness with which it was interspersed. Nevertheless, when reported by the committee on the 10th of February, it seems to have been "to the contentation of the House."[3]

This really serious matter being thus disposed of for the present, we find the Parliament engrossed with the momentous and delicate business of settling the religion of the state. Their doings it is necessary to state with some minuteness; for constant refer-

[1] Echard, 792.

[2] The version of the queen's answer given in the text, I have framed by a careful collation of those given by Hayward, Camden, and D'Ewes, which essentially agree. My object has been to retain some sentences and phrases which are preserved by one annalist, but omitted by the others, and to avoid that obscurity and involution which are particularly perplexing in Grafton's *memoriter* report as given by D'Ewes and Holingshed.

[3] D'Ewes, 46.

ence must be had to them in describing the reasons, the nature, and the progress of the religious strifes and oppressions which ensued.

An act was passed, entitled "An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign Power repugnant to the same."[1] It is commonly called "The Act of Supremacy." In this act, the sovereign was not styled Supreme Head of the Church, but Supreme Governor.[2] Elizabeth consented to the latter title, but objected to the former;[3] alleging that it "imported too great a power, and came too near that authority which Christ only had over the Church."[4] This was a religious reason. There was also, doubtless, an unpublished political reason,—the same which prevailed for certain "alterations and additions" to the Reformed Liturgy,—that the title of Supreme Head would have been peculiarly offensive to her Catholic subjects.[5] "So whilst their ears were favored in her waiving the word, their souls were deceived with the same sense under another expression."[6]

By this act—besides what is clearly set forth in the title—the queen was empowered to nominate all bishops in the old way of *congé d'elire*, as by act of Parliament 25 Henry VIII.;[7] to control the ecclesiastical state and persons by juridical visitation; to reform, order, and correct all manner of heresies,

[1] 1 Eliz. Cap. I.

[2] Sec. IX.

[3] Zurich Letters, No. XVIII.; Parkhurst to Bullinger.

[4] Burnet, II. 583. Zurich Letters, No. XX.; Jewel to Bullinger.

[5] Collier, VI. 226. Burnet, II. 597.

[6] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 53.

[7] See *ante*, p. 31, note 3. Also Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 53. Carte, III. 215. Burnet, II. 596.

schisms, offences, contempts, and enormities in the Church.[1]

To effect this, she was further authorized to delegate these powers of visitation and correction, by her letters patent, to such commissioners as she might select, whenever, and for so long a time, as she might please;[2] the same powers which Henry VIII. had intrusted to a single delegate, or vicegerent.[3]

All persons holding benefice or office under the crown — whether lay or ecclesiastic — were required to take an oath, called the Oath of Supremacy,[4] avowing "the queen to be the only supreme governor within the realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical *causes and things* as temporal"; and renouncing all like jurisdiction of any foreign prince or prelate;[5] and for such persons to refuse the oath was to forfeit promotion, benefice, or office.[6]

The same oath was also to be required in future, as a condition of receiving any benefice, ministry, or

[1] 1 Eliz. Cap. I. Sec. VIII.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Stow, 636. Rapin, II. 54.

[4] The entire oath was in form as follows: —

"I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, That the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her Highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, or preheminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, preheminences, privileges, and authorities granted or belonging to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and the contents of this book."

[5] 1 Eliz. Cap. I. Sec. IX.

[6] Ibid. Sec. X.

other office, lay or ecclesiastical;[1] and as a condition of taking orders, and of being promoted to any degree of learning.[2]

Any one affirming the authority within the realm of any foreign power, spiritual or ecclesiastical, and any abettor of him so affirming, for the first offence was to forfeit all goods and chattels real and personal; but, if not worth £20, to forfeit what he was worth, and to be imprisoned a year; for the second offence, to incur the penalties of a præmunire; for the third, to incur the fearful penalties of high treason.[3]

Another act was entitled, "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Divine Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments."[4]

By this act, the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments set forth 5 and 6 Edward VI. was revived, with some "alterations and additions";[5] and any parson, vicar, or minister, who should refuse to use it, or who should in any religious service — others being present — use any other than the rites and forms therein set down, or who should preach, declare, or speak anything in derogation of the Book, or of any part thereof, should, for the first offence, forfeit the *profit* of all his spiritual benefices or promotions for a year, and be imprisoned six months without bail or mainprise;[6] for the second offence, he should be impris-

[1] 1 Eliz. Cap. I. Sec. X.
[2] Ibid. Sec. XII.
[3] Ibid. Sec. XIV.
[4] 1 Eliz. Cap. II.
[5] Ibid. Sec. I.
[6] Hallam is far from stating this

oned a year, and be *deprived* of all his spiritual promotions; for the third offence, he should be deprived and imprisoned during life.[1]

Ministers so offending, but not beneficed, were to be imprisoned a year for the first offence; and for life, for the second offence.[2]

Should any person whatsoever — meaning persons *not in orders* — defame the Book of Common Prayer, or procure any minister to minister any sacrament, or to say any "open prayer," — defined by the statute to be "prayer for others to come unto, or hear," — in any other than the prescribed form, for the first offence he should forfeit a hundred marks; for the second, four hundred marks; for the third, all goods and chattels, and be imprisoned for life.[3]

Persons neglecting, without lawful or reasonable excuse, to come to their parish churches on Sundays and other days ordained to be kept as holy days, were to forfeit, for each offence, twelve pence.[4]

The ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, were to be as by authority of Parliament in the *second* year of Edward VI.[5]

The queen was empowered, with the advice of her commissioners, or of her metropolitan, — that is, without any further concurrence of the Parliament, or even of the Convocation of the Clergy, — to

penalty correctly. He says that it was "forfeiting goods and chattels," — nothing else. The penalty for the second offence, he states to be only imprisonment for a year; whereas "deprivation" is *added* in the statute. Nor does he notice the difference of penalty for ministers beneficed and for those not beneficed. Hallam, p. 74.

[1] 1 Eliz. Cap. II. Sec. II.
[2] Ibid. Sec. II.
[3] Ibid. Sec. III.
[4] Ibid. Sec III.
[5] Ibid. Sec. XIII.

ordain further ceremonies or rites *indefinitely*.[1] Upon this provision she peremptorily insisted; and, without it, would not have passed the act.[2]

Such was the Supremacy. Such was Uniformity. Such were the pains and penalties by which their claims were to be enforced. Such were the terrors under which every man was commanded to worship God, irrespective of his conscience, irrespective of the Bible, irrespective of his understanding of the Bible. It will be our task, so far as may be, to trace the operation and fruits of these laws and their penalties through the sixteenth century at least. A righteous judgment of those who thus converted things trivial into things momentous, who, of men's inventions, instituted so grievous a bondage, and enacted penalties so tremendous, cannot be formed unless we estimate — which we cannot fully do — the emasculating influence of old traditions even upon the strongest minds. Nor, indeed, unless we can estimate the complicated and critical relations of the crown of England to other crowns, to a religion writhing under a fresh and deadly wound, and to the religion which itself had chosen as its tower of defence.

While we scan the rigid and exacting policy of Elizabeth and her truly sagacious ministers, we cannot help comparing it, in our secret thoughts, with the ripe freedom of our own age and country, and, perhaps, wondering at the Protestant despotism of the past. It may be well to wonder. It may be well to deplore. But, if we are inclining further, it

[1] Ibid. Sec. XIII. [2] Heylin's Ref., 316. Warner, II. 417.

may be still better to weigh the words of the Gentiles' Apostle: "Who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?" "Where is boasting, then? It is excluded."

The acts did not pass without great opposition.[1] In the Upper House, the nine spiritual lords who were present — five were absent — dissented from the bill for the Supremacy; as also did the Abbot of Westminster. It was opposed by only one of the temporal lords,[2] Anthony Brown, the Viscount Montague, who "sharply urged that it was a dishonor to England so soon to revolt from the Apostolic See; adding, that for his part, by authority of the estate of England, he had tendered obedience to the Bishop of Rome, and the same he could not but perform." In conclusion, he earnestly exhorted and besought the peers to remain steadfast in their spiritual allegiance.[3]

The bill for Uniformity met with greater opposition; the nine prelates and also nine temporal peers dissenting. The latter were the Marquess of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Viscount Montague, the Lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North.[4]

[1] Echard, 793. Hayward, 26.

[2] Camden and Burnet say, *two*, — Montague and the Earl of Shrewsbury. The bill for the Supremacy was carried in the House of Lords by three voices only, says Butler, I. 283. "The bill in favor of the new book of common prayer .... was carried by a majority of three." (Lingard, VII. 261.) Stow says in his preface, very vaguely, "In this Parliament..... the major part exceeded the minor but in six voices."

[3] D'Ewes, 28. Camden, 19. Butler, II. 11.

[4] D'Ewes, 28.

In the House of Commons, the first bill introduced for annexing the Supremacy to the Crown, was long disputed and argued, and finally "dashed"; after which a new one was framed and passed,—"the far major part with joint mind giving their voices and assent."[1]

The bill for Uniformity passed with equal strength, and, apparently, without special opposition;[2] except from Doctor John Story, "a civilian of some note, who had been Professor of Civil Law in Oxford under Henry VIII., and the chief instrument of Bonner's butcheries under Queen Mary."[3] To one or both of these bills he made a bold and insolent opposition; boasting, as was "more meet to speak with the voice of a beast than of a man," of his own particular barbarities to Queen Mary's victims even when chained to the stake; lamenting only that he had done no more; and declaring that, had his counsels been followed, instead of lopping off the little twigs of heresy in the last reign, THE ROOT would have been plucked up.[4] Soon after, he fled to Antwerp, and there served the infamous Duke of Alva as a spy.

[1] D'Ewes, 47, 49, 55. Camden, 19.
[2] D'Ewes, 54.
[3] Mackintosh, 369.
[4] Hayward, 25. Holingshed, IV. 177.

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE REFORMATION RESTORED.

THE SUPREMACY. — PROTESTANT WORSHIP REVIVED. — COMMISSIONERS EMPOWERED. — BISHOPS DEPOSED. — OLD THEATRICALS. — BARTHOLOMEW'S FAIR. — THE PURGING OF THE CHURCHES. — THE NIGHT FESTIVAL. — THE COURTIER IN HIS CHAMBER.

### 1559.

HENRY VIII. disclaimed all right "of administering the sacraments and the like spirituals."[1] When first assuming the Supremacy, he made show of only the right of *nominating* bishops. His nomination, however, was imperative, and, in its effects, as if final; because the deans and chapters were exposed to the severest penalties if they did not elect the nominee.[2] Afterwards, the election of bishops was withdrawn from the deans and chapters, as being a useless and unmeaning form.[3] By the Act 1 Edward VI. Chap. II., it was enacted that for the future no *congé d'elire* should be granted, nor any election made by dean and chapter; but that the archbishopric or the bishopric should be *conferred* by the king's nomination in his letters patent.[4] "He might appoint divines of various ranks to preach the Gospel and to administer the sacraments. It was unnecessary that there should be any imposition of

[1] Carte, III. 108, 109.
[2] Ibid., 215.
[3] Collier, V. 227.
[4] Ibid., 228.

hands. The king — such was the opinion of Cranmer, given in plain words — might, in virtue of authority from God, make a priest; and the priest so made needed no ordination whatever."[1] In 1552, a bishop's patent ran, "so long as he shall behave himself well"; which meant, so long as the sovereign might *think* well of his behaving. Thus, the bishop might be deposed, as well as created, by a mere act of the king's will.[2]

Soon after her Parliament was dissolved, on the 8th of May, 1559, Queen Elizabeth became aware of a popular rumor, that, by the Act of Supremacy, she had power to administer divine service in the church. To correct an idea so unseemly to her sex, so prejudicial to her popularity, and which might impede the taking of the Oath of Supremacy, she inserted in her public injunctions to her commissioners a chapter entitled "An Admonition to Simple Men deceived by Malicious." In this she said that "she claimed no other authority than had been claimed and used by King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI.; which is, and was of ancient time, due to the imperial crown of the realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of *persons* born within these her realms, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And if any person that hath conceived any other sense of the form of the Oath of Supremacy should accept the same with this interpretation, her Majesty would accept such as her good and obedient subjects."[3]

[1] Macaulay, I. 52. [2] Rapin, II. 24. [3] Sparrow, 83.

There was ambiguity — probably designed — in substituting the word "persons" in this declaration for the words "causes and things" in the Oath; for while the new word seemed, in its application to the Church, to designate simply its functionaries, it truly embraced all ecclesiastical "causes and things" to them appertaining, and which could have no existence without *persons*. The greater included the less.

As the statute had limited her power in the election of bishops to that of nominating in the old way of *congé d'elire*, Elizabeth, by this proclamation, really disclaimed nothing but the right to exercise the spiritual functions of an ecclesiastic. It still remained, that not an office could be filled in the Church but by her authority and consent; that by her will and word alone she could depose from any spiritual office; that no Convocation of the Clergy could assemble but by her order, continue beyond her pleasure, or make canons without her assent;[1] that the ornaments of the Church, the apparel of the clergy, and the ceremonies of worship — with the slightest possible check — were under her control; that not a doctrine might be taught which she disapproved; that throughout the kingdom not a sermon might be preached when she should forbid.[2]

The ecclesiastical supremacy of Elizabeth was a monopoly of ecclesiastical authority, papistical, ultra-apostolical,[3] despotic. Witness her own words: "The full power, authority, jurisdiction, and supremacy in Church causes, which heretofore *the Popes*

[1] Neal, I. 74. Macaulay, I. 54. [3] Collier, VII. 41.
[2] Neal, I. 73.

*usurped and took to themselves*, is united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."[1]

This was but a branch of her royal prerogative; and this prerogative she always regarded as "the chiefest flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem."[2] It will appear as we proceed, how she uniformly resented the least deviation from the laws of worship, whether prescribed by Parliament or by her own injunctions; how she met as a personal outrage the least approach to intermeddling with religious matters, when not initiated and authorized by herself.[3] By her construction, every ecclesiastic and every layman in the Church owed to her orders the same unquestioning, unhesitating, and exact obedience which, in the army, every officer and every private owed to the orders of his general.[4] In the thirty-fifth year of her reign, Morrice, an Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster, presented a bill in the House of Commons for retrenching the ecclesiastical courts. It was the touch of a profane hand upon the ark of the Lord. A dungeon till he died was the penalty of his sin.[5]

"One matter toucheth me so near that I may not overskip," said she in her speech, when closing the Parliament in March, 1584–5. "God hath made me the Overlooker of the Church. If any schisms or errors heretical are suffered therein, which you my lords of the clergy do not amend, I mind *to depose* you. Look you, therefore, well to your charges."[6]

[1] Strype's Whitgift, 260.

[2] D'Ewes, 547. Speech to Parliament in 1597.

[3] Heylin's Presb., Bk. VII. Sec. 37. Hallam, 77, 105.

[4] Collier, VI. 584, note.

[5] Heylin's Ref., Introduct. Collier, VII. 163, who omits, however, Morrice's tragical end.

[6] Stow, 702. Strype's Whitgift, 207.

"Proud prelate!" she wrote to Doctor Cox, who demurred at an encroachment upon his land which she had seen fit to allow,—"Proud prelate! You know what you were before I made you what you are. If you do not immediately comply with my request, by God! I will unfrock you. Elizabeth."[1]

On the 24th of June[2] the Act of Uniformity took effect. Mass was abolished, and the English liturgy established. About the same time, her Majesty appointed her commissioners, as by statute provided, to regulate ecclesiastical affairs throughout the kingdom; to purge the churches from the insignia of Popery; to inquire into the vices of the people; to note and correct the doctrines, the apparel, and the behavior of the clergy, particularly in the tap-room and at gambling-tables; to discharge any who were imprisoned on account of their religion; to restore to their benefices such as had been unlawfully ejected from them in the late reign, and to enforce certain injunctions[3] which she published touching religious matters. *Any two* of the commissioners were empowered to punish delinquents by ecclesiastical "and such other correction as" to them "shall be seen convenient";[4] to deprive unworthy ministers; and

[1] "There are so many versions of this pithy letter that its authenticity becomes doubtful. No better authority has been found than 'The Gentleman's Magazine,' Vol. LXXIX. Pt. I. p. 136, where it is printed from the 'Registry of Ely.'" —Life of Hatton, p. 36, note. The version in the text is as in Hallam, 134, note.

[2] Strype's Annals, I. 200. Camden, 31. 1 Eliz. Cap. II. Sec. II., "from and after the feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist." Holingshed, by mistake, says 14th of May (IV. 184).

[3] Sparrow, 67 – 82.

[4] Ibid., 86.

to restore to their benefices such as had been unlawfully deprived in the late reign.[1]

In the beginning of July, they commenced their duties[2] by tendering the Oath of Supremacy to the clergy. The year before, a malignant epidemic had swept the kingdom of nearly half the bishops and a great number of the parochial clergy.[3] Only fifteen bishops remained; all of whom, except Doctor Kitchin, the Bishop of Landaff, refused the oath, were consequently deprived of their bishopries, and three of them — obnoxious for their cruelty during Mary's reign — were committed to close prison.[4]

Clerkenwell Green was a famous place for merry doings. That old church and those old elms had witnessed rare and roistering pastimes years and years before Queen Elizabeth was born, or bluff Harry, her sire. Many a gallant and many a merry maid, now churchyard dust, had exchanged looks, and whispers, and true-love tokens, at the fairs of Clerkenwell; and so had lords and ladies, princes and princesses,—dust now, as well as humbler lovers. Many a parish clerk of London in bygone years had piously turned stage-player there once a twelvemonth; playing whole histories out of the Bible, with divers artistic emendations and the Devil for merry-andrew; revivifying Samson and Delilah, David and Goliah, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

[1] Holingshed, IV. 185. Carte, III. 373. Warner, II. 421. Heyl. Ref., 188 – 306 *passim*. Burnet, II. 619. Neal, I. 81.

[2] Strype's Annals, I. 105, 202. Strype's Grindal, 24.

[3] Heyl. Ref., 286; Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 14. Burnet, II. 612. Strype's Memorials, VI. 156, 157.

[4] Holingshed, IV. 184. Heyl. Ref., 286. Stow, 639, 670.

Compared with the actors of the nineteenth century, they of the fourteenth were Anakim. At *their* entertainments, the reign of a single king was but a tit-bit; and the playing of a single day, but a whetter of the appetite. They used to play out generations after generations for a play of two or three days long; and with kings and queens to hear them, too, and to hear them through. Witness the record of their doings in July, 1390. That was a small play, though; for nineteen years after, at Skinner's Well, hard by, they played a play eight days long, to rapt hearers, noble and ignoble, in which they dramatized the whole history of the world from the creation to the year of grace 1409.[1] Players *were* players in those days. Many a Popish priest, too, — until forbidden by royal proclamation in 1549, — had turned player, to caricature the Reformation and bring it into contempt with the people.[2]

Clerkenwell Green was still the place of places for shows and fun, for love-making and money-making, in Queen Elizabeth's day. No one could remember when Bartholomew's fair did *not* begin there on St. Bartholomew's day; and no one could remember when the doings on the fair's first day — archery, vaulting, wrestling, morris-dancing, and bear-baiting — were not witnessed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, by lords and by ladies, and by the ambassadors from foreign courts.

It was, therefore, but a matter of course, that these dignitaries were there when the fair opened

[1] Stow's Survey of London, 18, 144. [2] Fuller, Bk. VII. p. 390.

on the 24th of August, 1559.[1] Handsome galleries, whence they could have full view of all that passed, and which were hung with wreaths and festoons of flowers mingled with evergreens, had been erected for them against the church wall; while the respectable commoners were provided with rude forms conveniently arranged just beneath the galleries. Merry-andrews and mercers, jugglers, Jews, and jockeys, lackeys, light-o'-hearts, and leal lovers, bull-dogs, bears, and brawny yeomen, had been busy as bees three hours or more, when, just as a maimed wrestler was borne bleeding from the ground, trade and merriment were arrested by the long blast of a bugle, and all eyes turned toward the centre of the green.

One man stood there alone, plainly dressed in smock and hose, a dagger in his girdle, a sprig of holly in his cap, a burning torch in his hand, and a pile of billets and furze fagots by his side. As the bugler wound his last note, the great door of the church, before which had just gathered a party of horsemen, was thrown open, and gave passage to some forty or fifty well-dressed burghers, each laden with the spoils of Popery stripped from the church and from neighboring chapels, shrines, and convents. As they made their appearance and moved under escort of the cavaliers, — all wearing badges of living green, — the whole multitude gave a pealing shout of welcome. The torch-bearer lighted the pile; and while the queen's commissioners and they who bore the trophies were passing the short intervening space, it had come to

[1] Camden, 21. Holingshed, IV. 185. Strype's Grindal, Bk. I. ch. 3.

blaze and crackle merrily. As each burgher reached the fire, he cast his burden beside it, "the people looking on with great wonder" and glee. The executioner, if we may so call him, during this performance went through a variety of pantomime, expressive of disgust, horror, contempt, and hate, for the objects thrown at his feet. It was a motley pile, and, for a burnt-offering, a strange one;— tables, shrine-coverings, trindals, rolls of wax, saints big and little, fragments of altars, Popish books, surplices, and copes, banners, altar-cloths, rood-cloths, and crucifixes. The solitary official now commenced his task, taking the several objects from the pile and throwing them one by one upon the flames, with the same variety of grimaces and contortions with which he had received them. At each immolation the people shouted; but they seemed to have a special antipathy to the Roods,—images of Christ on the cross with Mary and John standing by,—for whenever one of these was thrown upon the fire, their shouts were redoubled and prolonged. Such was the first burning of Popish relics by the queen's commissioners, in obedience to the twenty-third article of her injunctions; "making atonement, as it were, for the many holy men and holy women that were not long before roasted to death there." During the whole, "such were the shoutings and applause of the vulgar sort, as if it had been the sacking of some hostile city."[1]

During the hour of this bloodless revenge upon a priesthood so lately officiating at human sacrifices,—this revenge so keenly relished by an out-

[1] Hayward, 28. Strype's Grindal, 25; Annals, I. 260.

raged people,—let us turn our attention to the brilliant assemblage in the galleries. Among them was one remarkable for his handsome person, his majestic mien, and his graceful manners.[1] He seemed to be about twenty-five years of age. He was looking at the burning with a listless air, strikingly in contrast with that of his companions. A massive plume bent from his cap of embroidered velvet, to which it was buttoned by a single magnificent diamond. Upon his shoulders, and also fastened by a brilliant, hung loosely a riding-cloak of silk tissue,—evidently more for ornament than use, and by no means concealing the rich dress becoming a courtier. He wore at his side a light sword and a diminutive dagger. During the whole morning he had been overwhelmed with attentions by those around him. The ladies were rivals for his notice; and not one of them had addressed him without the reward of a smile so expressive, and words so delicately flattering, as to raise commotion at her heart. But now, as if wearied with gallantry, he had risen from his seat, and was leaning carelessly against the rear of the gallery, or, more strictly speaking, the wall of the church. Suddenly his eye turned from that which was engrossing all others; and after looking briefly but intently at some object which had attracted his attention, he glided a step or two toward the open window which served as a door to the gallery, where stood a man evidently of the gentry, though in unpretending attire. The latter instantly, and somewhat obsequiously advanced.

[1] Hume, III. 13.

"Varney!" whispered the courtier, "my heart yearneth toward one here."

Master Varney bowed, and turned a vivid look of inquiry toward the coterie of ladies.

"Nay, nay, my brave goshawk!" said the other, "the quarry is not there. Turn thine eye out of door, man. Dost see yon booth with the tapster's lure swinging over it,—a pine bush?"

"Yes, my lord."

"It were fit, I ween, that some devout man, like Richard Varney, Gentleman, did stand in the way over against it, to warn the simple and unwary to beware butt and pottle-pot"; — and he looked with a mock gravity at his esquire.

"Alack, alack, my lord! Bashfulness, — bashfulness! It be my foot's fetter, my hand's gyve, my tongue's palsy, my fortune's bane, my ambition's nightmare, — saving only in your lordship's service, wherein, methinks, I be nor cripple nor laggard."

"Now out upon thee, for one of nature's contradictions! a mute babbler! a bashful braggart! Thou wouldst be a godsend to a showman at a groat a sight. But lo! nor thine eloquence nor mine is needful yonder. For this present, Varney, we be forestalled. The two in gown and cap in the yew's shade are more valiant exhorters than we, an I be not at fault. To my thinking, they must have the odor of sanctity, for they wear the true aspect of Gospellers.[1] Now, Sir Diffidence, thou canst surely

[1] "These men" — Zwinglians or Calvinists — "are called in Bishop Hooper's Preface to the Ten Commandments by the name of Gospellers, for making their new doctrine such a necessary part of our Saviour's Gospel, as if men could not possibly be saved without it.

devise some cunning shift to find them out; who, — whence, — and so forth. I tell thee my heart yearneth towards them; most towards the ancient one, in whose face methinks I see something not unfamiliar. An he *be* a Gospeller, it concerneth me to know it, for he hath no less the look of a man of stamp and mould, than of years and godliness. Mark his form, — wan and slender, albeit straight as a woodman's shaft! And what a brow! Threescore years and ten there; but there be manhood yet. By my halidom! I would salute such an one *in nomine Domini!* Hasten, good Varney!"

The esquire performed his errand with alacrity; but, for modesty's sake, by proxy. His report, however, was cut short almost at the first word, for the gallant lord was appealed to at the instant in a hot dispute between a court beau and a court belle, whether the crossing of two lines on the palm of her beautiful hand did betoken her of the Romish religion or no. Before this grave question could be settled, the burning upon the green was over; the people were resuming their pastimes; and the company in the galleries were in all the bustle of departure.

Their cavalcade, brilliant with beauty and rich array, was soon in motion, and took leave — the ladies mounted upon side-saddles — amid the huzzas of the rustic multitude.[1] But rank must pay its

These doctrines they began to propagate in the reign of King Edward; but never were so busy at it as when they lived at Geneva, or came newly thence." — Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, Bk. VI. Sec. 9.

[1] There is a paragraph in Hume which may properly be noticed in this connection. He says: "About

penalties; and they were constrained, as they came home through Cheapside, to afford their presence at two other "great fires in the street,"—one against Ironmonger Lane, and the other against Mercer's

1580, the use of coaches was introduced by the Earl of Arundel. Before that time, the queen, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain." (Vol. III. 265, Appendix III.) This in its connection seems to ignore the use of side-saddles. Stow tells us that riding upon side-saddles was introduced by Richard II. upon occasion of his marriage in 1382. (Survey of London, 132.) D'Ewes says (p. 59) that the queen went to the Parliament-House in 1562–3, "on horseback, *a little* behind the Lord Chamberlain"; an expression without the ambiguity of that of Hume. Nine years *before* 1580, the queen rode to Parliament in her coach. (D'Ewes, 136.)

I have another object in here citing Hume. That "the use of coaches was introduced by the Earl of Arundel about 1580," is not only an error, but I think it appears how Anderson, singularly enough, fell into it. (Hume refers to Anderson for his authority; and Anderson indeed says so.) The Earl of Arundel *died* in 1580, at the advanced age of sixty-nine years. Camden records his death, under that date, in his text, on page 256; where, in the *margin*, are the words, "The death of the Earl of Arundel, who first brought the use of coaches into England." Anderson has probably mistaken a marginal note which points *backward* as stating a fact of 1580; and Hume has followed him too trustfully. Lingard misread Camden's note in the same strange way; and, what is more singular, recognizes it as a note (Vol. VII. 305, note).

Stow, who lived in Elizabeth's day, and to whom Hume often refers, says: "In the year 1564, Guilliam Boonen, a Dutchman, became the queen's coachman, and was the first that brought the use of coaches into England." (Annals, 867, 868.) Probably Arundel introduced both the Dutchman and the coach.

The chariot, or whirlicote, was a different vehicle; used both by Elizabeth (Strype's Annals, I. 408, 409, folio edit. 273) and by her sister Mary (Strype's Memorials, V. 498, 508, folio edit. 304). It was an ancient carriage. (Stow's Survey, 131, 132.)

Elizabeth probably went to her first Parliament in her barge, though I find no record of it; to the second, in 1562–3, on horseback, as above stated. The Parliament of 1566 was the same as that of 1562–3. Of course, it *resumed* business without the attendance of the queen in person. The first time, therefore, that she opened a Parliament *after* 1564, she went to the House "in the ancient accustomed and most honorable passage," and *in her coach*. (D'Ewes, 136.) It is singular that Hume should have

Chapel, — "wherein were thrown a great number of rods with the images of John and Mary, and the resemblances of divers other saints."[1]

But St. Bartholomew's festival did not end with the day. Nor did the light; for no sooner had the sun gone down, than the city was bright with a thousand fires. Lighted at irregular intervals along the streets, throwing a flickering glare here, casting deep shadows there, shooting up wavy pillars of smoke, which slowly rose, expanded, and commingled till they became a canopy, they created an exciting picture of wild and animated contrasts. Yet the chief interest of the scene was beneath; in the vastness, the surging, the perpetual voice, of that stream of human life which eddied along the streets. I am not sure that there was not something there which the Eye to whom darkness and light are both alike smiled upon and blessed. There was good cheer there, of meats and drinks, upon the scores of tables which encircled every fire; but I do not mean that. There was cordial greeting there between neighbor and neighbor at ordinary times next-door strangers; but I do not mean that. There was large-hearted generosity there, which met every passer-by, known or unknown, gentle or simple, in gay clothing or in rags, full or famishing, and led him with heart and

overlooked, or rather by implication contradicted, a fact which D'Ewes has conspicuously noticed.

Some time after the coach came into use, for some reason there arose a prejudice against it; and the question was raised, "whether the Devil brought tobacco into England in a coach, or brought a coach in a fog or mist of tobacco." (Knight's London, I. 25.) In 1601, Nov. 7, a bill was brought into the House of Lords to restrain the excessive use of coaches; was read the second time, and rejected. (D'Ewes, 602.)

[1] Holingshed, IV. 185. Strype's Annals, I. 254. Strype's Grindal, 25.

courtesy to fellowship at its own board of repast, t- ing him to sit there and be merry, to eat there a- praise God; but I do not mean that. There was larger, nobler mission going on; for here and the- you might have seen two men at bitter feud sough- out and brought together by mediators, who in- quired and reasoned and explained and pleaded, an- would not cease importunity, or restrain tears, unti- the two had embraced, sat down to eat and drink together, exchanged forgiveness, and parted covenant friends, — redeemed from a bitter curse. It was this *mission of reconciliation* — a mission carried on that night through the length and breadth of the city, a mission in the likeness and spirit of that which made angels sing at Bethlehem — which I think God did smile upon there, and after reward in heaven.

Such were the customs long, long ago in good Old England, on the close of festival days.[1]

The night was far spent. The people had dispersed. The poor had gone to bed *not* hungry; and men who had woke at strife were sleeping at peace. But Lord Robert Dudley — in his princely chamber with its tapestry of Flanders, its Moorish carpet of arabesque designs, its blaze of light, and its delicate perfume of burning oil — kept vigil. He was the young son of the Duke of Northumberland (first the Earl of Warwick) beheaded for his attempt to place

[1] The street fire was the central point of the *good* will, *bene*-volence, — of which at-one-ment was the chief form, — which characterized these festivals. To express fully its meaning, the scholars of the day coined the word *bon*-fire; or, as they wrote it, *bo-ne*-fire, — from the French *bon* or the Latin *bonus*. See Stow's Survey, 159.

Lady Jane Grey upon the throne. Dudley, attainted for his complicity in the same treason, had been restored to rank and fortune by Mary in 1557.[1] Upon presenting himself at the Court of Elizabeth, he had been received with marked favor, and with such unmistakable indications of admiration as to excite in him the most aspiring and intoxicating ambition.[2] The virgin monarch seemed as though she would have welcomed him to the nuptial vow if she could. But there was a wife, — young, lovely, trusting, — his only seeming barrier to the proudest station in the realm. We will not say that at this time the damning purpose of her murder was formed; but it was forming, for the thought of her as the obstacle, and yet the innocent and loving obstacle, to his ambition, was sometimes maddening. When alone, as now, he would walk to and fro, and think, and think, — thoughts lashing passions to a tempest, and passion bestirring thought, — until the conflict became fearful suffering. The scorpion *can sting itself* — to death. At one moment, Amy would be imaged in his mind's eye, with her pure love, her sweet smile, her childlike trust, her artless beauty, her transparent heart; and then, the magnificent daughter of Henry, luring him to her side, her station, and her power. He was a caged eagle, eying his mate on the wing aloft, clutching and biting his chain, chafing against his bars, and cursing the memory of his folly and the hour of his captivity. With neither God nor man for a confidant; with neither God nor man nor principle for counsellor; nay, with God and humanity and honor and conscience

[1] Burnet, II. 562. [2] Lingard, VII. 305.

doing battle with him, — it was terrible to be alone and think. But he would. He had been so now, for hours; for hours he had thought; for hours he had breasted this strife. He could no longer bear it. Snatching from his toilet a small silver bell, he rang it nervously, wiped the perspiration from his brow, and resumed his walk.

"Zounds! the knave sleepeth!" he exclaimed after a few moments. Then, striding to the door and opening it, "Ho there, Varney!"

"Pardon, my lord!" stammered the confused chamberlain as he entered with a low reverence.

"Overmuch wine, hey?"

"Upon my word, nay, my lord. But Nature will have her dues."

"I would rest," said Dudley, tartly; and, throwing himself upon a chair of crimson velvet, without further word he submitted himself to the offices of the gentleman-dependent who had followed his fortunes for years. But hardly had his hose been loosened when he said, "Hold, Varney; a cup of Theologicum.[1] An thou hast some gentle drug to provoke sleep, add it to the draught. Court cares gender thoughts; and thoughts, wakefulness."

The gentleman of the chamber was in the act of closing the heavy curtains of the bed, when his lord,

[1] "The stronger the wine is, the more it is desired, by means whereof in old time the best was called Theologicum, because it was had from the clergie and religious men, vnto whose houses manie of the laitie would often send for bottels filled with the same, being sure that they"—the clergy—"would neither drinke nor be serued of the worst, or such as was anie waies mingled or brued by the vintner: naie, the merchant would have thought that his soule should have gone straightwaie to the diuell if he should have serued them with other than the best." — Harrison, 281, 282, in Vol. I. of Holingshed.

rising from the pillow, exclaimed, "Varney! methinks I gave shrewd guess at Clerkenwell to-day! One of the most noted, godly, long-headed of the whole college of clergy! A bishop to boot,—or hath been, which is all the same. I marvel that I remembered not one I saw often in my noble father's day. But I have a purpose for which I would know him now. I would win his ear, and withal his good faith, an I may. Bestir thy wits for our acquaintanceship, for he cometh not to the court, and I would our meeting should seem a happening; a thing by cha—*providence;* that is the Genevan phrase. What think you?"

"An you ask mine honest thought, my lord, it seemeth a matter which needeth not the bestirring of any one's wits. Summon him; he cometh. Go to him; he appeareth."

"Nay; an I seem to seek him, he may suspect a purpose, and be chary of his thoughts. I would probe the man. An he seem one of fit stuff, I may use him,—make him an ally offensive and defensive. Hey, Varney?"

"Probe him, my lord! you had best, lest you run your barge upon the rocks. Probe him! you may do it with the nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandth of the least of all things. There be nothing in him to probe."

"Now fie upon thee for a simpleton, Varney! an thou be not talking in riddles. Beshrew thee, man, what meanest thou?"

"My lord, I mean that he is as open-hearted and guileless as a child, and therefore unsuspicious. The best coin with him is straightforwardness. As for

the other matter, offensive he will not be, defensive he cannot be."

"He is a knowing old man, you told me so yourself; and since I find who he is, I know well what he is."

"He is all you say, my lord. Besides, he hath lived under no less than five sovereigns of England, counting our gracious Mistress Elizabeth, whom Heaven long preserve and bless!"

"Amen!"

"He is skilled in the sacred tongues; hath translated the whole Bible; hath been a bishop; hath been in prison; hath been in exile; hath been in many kingdoms; hath been in royal courts. Were I the Lord Robert Dudley, the admiration of all this should allow me no rest until I did stand on his threshold and crave the honor — and the favor — and so forth."

"Which for one of my station to do, would be translated, 'He hath some end of policy to compass'; the very verity which I would he should not read."

"Nay, nay, my lord; but natural it would seem, and commendable. Age expecteth deference from youth, and hath a right to it from the greatest, maugre whatever pertaineth to it of humbleness or poverty. Besides, courtesy from the Lord Dudley would not seem strange to him. He hath received it often enough, I trow, from lords and dukes and kings and queens.

"Varney! I know thee for a shrewd fellow; and so will weigh thy counsel. But now I would fain sleep. Another draught will soothe me like a lullaby."

He quaffed the wine, and dropped upon the pillow. The curtains were closed, and Varney was retiring, when Dudley called, "Heigh-ho!"

"My lord?"

"My Lord North hath converted me."[1]

The gentleman bowed from habit, though screened by the curtains of the bed.

"Dost not comprehend, sirrah?"

"Marry! it exceedeth mine understanding how the Lord Robert Dudley could need conversion."

"Dolt! Be not Papistry heresy? Hath not the new Church lands and revenues more than is meet? The Lord Dudley, thy master, is a Gospeller!"

"May the Gospel sink into my lord's heart!" said the chamberlain with a shrug. "Ladies of the court will be saved from sighing, and husbands from wearing horns."

"Hist, fellow! I tell thee I be a Gospeller, now; and thou must help me to act my calling. Find out *what* it is these Genevans would make a stir about. Something about the Book, I know; something about phylacteries, I trow."

"Yes, my lord."

"Hold! you must glean for me a pretty list of — of Gospel words — and — and — things." His voice fell to a murmur; and sleep came to still his inward strife.

[1] Lloyd, 520.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT.

PAUL'S CROSS.—FATHER COVERDALE.—DAVID WHITEHEAD.—SUNDAY TRAFFIC. —THE CHANGES IN THE LITURGY.—SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS.—ROBERT, LORD DUDLEY.—THE QUEEN'S TENDERNESS FOR PAPACY.—HER REASONS FOR IT. —HER DISLIKE OF THE FRANKFORT EXILES, HOW EXCITED.—"SEMPER EADEM."—THE DISLIKE OF THE VESTMENTS, AND OF THE SUPREMACY.—THE POSITION OF KNOLLYS AND DUDLEY.—THE NEW HIERARCHY.—THE "OLD PRIESTS."—SCARCITY OF CLERGY.

### 1559.

NEARLY in the centre of St. Paul's churchyard stood a unique structure, long used as the nucleus of public assemblies,—a stone platform of moderate dimensions, elevated sufficiently for the purposes of harangue, and innocent of all adornment. It was accessible by stone steps, and surmounted by a pulpit of timber in the form of a cross and covered with lead. Around this venerable structure many a crowd had been gathered, from time immemorial; now inflamed by words of sedition, and again by appeals to loyalty; now listening to a panegyric, and again to a philippic; now, to the publishing of a law, and again to the administering of an oath; now, to a wheedling demagogue, and now to the voice of prayer.

If a frolicsome girl had scared people, by pretending to have Satan in her, and by acting as if she had, and was detected, they made her stand here on a Sunday before the preacher, and own that

she did it for fun, and say that she was sorry, and wanted to be forgiven and to be prayed for. In Protestant times, if a Romish priest, to escape punishment, would abjure his heresy, they made him do it here, after having stood before the preacher all the sermon-time with a fagot on his back.

Such were some of the uses of Paul's Cross,—so called. But it had ever been chiefly appropriated by the clergy. It had stood there at least three hundred years,—"the most noted and solemn place in the nation for the gravest divines and the greatest scholars to preach at." Wickliff had preached from it; and so had his persecutors. So had Bradwardine and Tyndal; the bloody Bonner, and his yoke-fellow Gardiner; and Rogers, and Hooper, and Cranmer,—all of whom Bonner and Gardiner had burned at the stake. It was at last completely destroyed in 1643, by order of Parliament.

As soon as the Protestant religion was restored by Queen Elizabeth, the most eminent Protestant divines were appointed to occupy this pulpit on Sundays, where they preached to immense assemblies, including the dignitaries of Church and city, the queen and her nobles.[1]

The usual services had just been concluded there on the 12th of November, 1559. The preacher,[2] a venerable man of seventy-two years, was well known, not only for his piety and learning, but for his integrity and fortitude during a long life of vicissitude,

[1] Stow's Annals, 678. Stow's Survey, 123, 124, note, Thom's London edit. 1842. Strype's Grindal, 26, 27. Strype's Annals, I. 300. Neal, I. 455. Leigh's View of London.

[2] Strype's Grindal, 27. Strype's Annals, I. 200.

peril, and hardship. Many high in office and rank had therefore gathered to hear him. As soon as he had uttered the last words of the service, the whole congregation joined in a song of praise to God. Six thousand voices, "of old and young, of both sexes," swelling in harmony and fervent in their praise,—how grand the chorus! "It sadly annoyed the Mass-priests and—the Devil."[1] When the people had mostly dispersed, the venerable preacher descended from the pulpit. He wore no surplice; only a long black gown over a plain black suit. His face was by no means classic; rather rough than otherwise, as if by long and harsh exposure; and his iron-gray hair lay in scant and wiry tufts. But there was such a light of peacefulness and benevolence about his lips, beaming in his clear blue eye, and softening every homely feature, that one could not help being drawn toward him, lovingly and trustfully. Yet with all his look of mildness, he had that also of decision, firmness, and courage, which repelled all idea of his being moved to anything which might conflict either with his reason or his conscience. Though he had not the strong, confident movement of vigorous life, yet he descended with a step betraying no infirmity. He was met on the ground by a man somewhat past the prime of life, wearing the square cap and the gown of the clergy, who said, saluting him with marked deference, "May God long spare thee, good father, to preach the words of truth and soberness."

The old man returned his salutation with a bright smile, which faded, however, into a look of placid

[1] Zurich Letters, No. XLV.; Jewel to P. Martyr.

gravity as he heard the words. He did not at once reply; and when he did, he said quietly, "As the Lord willeth. It is not for Myles Coverdale to eschew or to covet a greater length of days. While I live, an the Lord please, I would preach his Word. Albeit I misdoubt, Master Whitehead, lest my mouth be closed before my days."

As he spake the last words, he looked at his companion keenly. They were just without the four chains which compassed the churchyard;[1] and here their routes diverged. But Master Whitehead, reading the meaning of Father Coverdale's look, checked his step as he was about to turn, saying, "Would I might have thine ear, good father, touching the matters thy words point at! Prithee! let me to thine house."

"With all my heart; albeit the place be not tempting."

"It is only Father Coverdale I want."

"Come then."

But instead of proceeding, the venerable man, at that moment having turned his eye toward the churchyard, stood still, and exclaimed in tones of indignation and grief: "O Mammon! Mammon! thou hast ever shown a spite to poor old Myles, and hast grudged him thy meanest dole. But now thou hast come to grudging him his trade,—persuading men! and dost beat him at it too! See, Master Whitehead! The Devil travelleth in the preacher's wake, scattering tares where I did just cast God's seed! A lawyer; notaries, I trow,—the knaves with inkhorn and tablets; a Jew; and there come scores

[1] Strype's Grindal, 57.

of simpletons, with purses and dags in girdle, to buy and to sell, to gain and to lose, to cheat and be cheated. Now they will walk and talk and courtesy and smile; anon, hear and tell news; then to business and payment of moneys, and sealing of bonds, and such like; and, last, to quarrelling and fighting, and mayhap to rioting and letting blood! All on ground consecrated to God's worship and the resurrection![1] Master Whitehead! an you have influence with her Majesty, as men say, beseech her stop this profanation,—it is all abroad in the kingdom. She doth straitly reform religion; prick her to reforming vice. Come," hastily leaning upon Whitehead's arm, "let us away."

So saying, he turned towards his temporary home. As their discourse concerned only the churchyard scene, we leave them to their walk; merely observing, that mercantile gatherings after the Sunday service, and often attended by "divers outrageous and unseemly behaviors, as well within and near the cathedral church of St. Paul as in divers other churches in the realm,[2] were not uncommon, even to the use of deadly weapons; nor did the majesty of the crown interfere for their suppression until two years afterwards.

Myles Coverdale—from respect to his age and character commonly called Father Coverdale—had translated the whole Bible in the reign of Henry VIII., and had been a cherished intimate of Thomas Cromwell, the king's vicar-general; but about 1540 he had been obliged to seek safety in exile. He had

[1] Strype's Grindal, 56, 209. Strype's Annals, I. 390.

[2] Queen's Proclamation, Oct. 30, 1561.

been one of the chaplains of Edward VI.; and Bishop of Exeter, from 1551 to 1553, when he was deposed and imprisoned by Mary, who with difficulty was persuaded by the king of Denmark to deny him the honors of the stake, which she commuted for banishment. Of course he had remained in exile until Elizabeth came to the throne, at which time he was at Geneva. The news of that event brought him speedily to England.[1]

[1] In his youth Myles Coverdale entered the monastery of the Augustines at Cambridge. In 1514, at the age of twenty-six years, he was admitted to orders. He was one of the many young men of the University who flocked around Doctor Robert Barnes, the prior of the convent, and hailed him as "the restorer of letters" when, as a mere scholar, he lectured upon Terence and Cicero, or poured forth his classic eloquence over the letters of Saint Paul. With still greater eagerness did the young monk drink in the words of the same elegant and ardent master, when afterwards, with new vision and new eloquence, he opened the spiritual treasures of the Gospel. Bilney and Latimer and Stafford also had a share in the training of his mind and the moulding of his heart, when the several Colleges of the University were in a ferment over the Greek Testament of Erasmus, and timid students held "gospel-meetings" by stealth at the sign of the White Horse. (Strype's Parker, 6.) And afterwards, in 1526, when manor-house and convent-cell, shop and cottage, were thronged with persons studying Tyndal's English Testament, wondering at its clearness, its ethics, and its glad tidings, — when the Universities began to be counted pest-houses of heresy because they too harbored Tyndal's book, — Coverdale shared in the general enthusiasm, and sat with new-born gladness at the feet of his prior. And when, soon after, Barnes was swooped up by the minions of Wolsey, and heard from the lips of the despotic Cardinal, "You must be burned," Coverdale was one of three disciples who followed him on his mournful journey, and stayed him in his days of trial. After this, he abandoned his convent, and went about as a missionary, preaching an evangelical reformation.

We have no trace of him from 1528 to 1535, except that during the greater part of the year 1529 he was assisting Tyndal at Hamburg in translating a part of the Old Testament. (Bagster's Memorials of Coverdale, 23.) As he published his own translation of the entire Bible in October, 1535, — the first edition of the whole Bible in English ever printed, — he was doubtless engrossed during the interval, and in seclusion, by this task. Where

David Whitehead, a distinguished scholar and divine, was also an exile during Mary's reign, and resided at Frankfort. He has already been incidentally mentioned, as ministering to the English church in that city, before the arrival of Knox. He appears to have been afterwards its pastor. It is probable that his acquaintance with Coverdale had commenced

this Bible was printed is uncertain. In 1537, two other editions of it were published by James Nycolson, a bookseller in Southwark.

In the same year appeared the Bible which bears the name of Thomas Matthewe, but which was really edited by John Rogers. Of this, all to the end of the Chronicles, the book of Jonah, and the New Testament, were Tyndal's; the rest, Coverdale's. (Compare Hallam, 57, and note.) This edition was a private speculation of Grafton, who printed it; and was "set forth with the king's most gracious license." (Compare Heyl. Ref., 9, 20. Carte, III. 128, 129. Holingshed, IV. 732. Stow, 553, 554, 575. Rapin, I. 483, 804–832, *passim.*)

In 1538, Coverdale was in Paris with Grafton, and under the direction of Cromwell, Lord of the Privy Seal and Henry's vicegerent, editing another edition of the Bible; but the Inquisition scenting the work, he was obliged to flee. He managed, however, to save his types and most of the edition, which was completed and published the next year in London. It seems to have been what is called Cranmer's Bible. (Compare Hallam, 57, note.)

About 1540 he went to Germany, where he struggled eight years against poverty. During this exile he married Elizabeth Macheson, a woman of Scotch descent.

When Edward came to the throne, he was invited — by Cranmer, doubtless — to return; which he did early in 1549, for a letter of his to Calvin, dated March, 1548, — i. e. 1548–9, — says, "On my return to England, having been invited thither after an exile of eight years."

In 1550 he brought out a new edition of his Bible at Zurich, which was reissued in London in 1553, and again in 1562 (Strype's Parker, 207), and yet again in 1566. (Ibid., 240, misnumbered 232.)

He was appointed one of the king's chaplains, and almoner to the dowager Queen Catharine; and on the 30th of August, 1551, was consecrated Bishop of Exeter, being "habited in surplice and cope." (Strype's Cranmer, 271.)

Queen Mary deposed and imprisoned him in 1553, and would have sent him to the stake but for McBee, who had married a sister of Coverdale's wife. This man, chaplain to King Frederick of Denmark, procured his Majesty's intercession by letter in Coverdale's behalf. This being unsuccessful, his Majesty

at the court of Henry VIII., while Whitehead was officiating as chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn; and that it had been renewed at Frankfort or Geneva. Since his return, he had so won the esteem of Elizabeth, as a zealous and able champion of the Reformed religion, that she had offered him the Archbishopric of Canterbury; which, however, from conscientious scruples, he had declined.[1]

wrote a second time; upon which Mary reluctantly liberated her prisoner, on condition, however, that he should abjure the realm. He was thereupon sent to Denmark. (Fox, III. 182, 183. Fuller's Worthies, III. 411, 412. Brook, I. 125.)

He was afterwards in Geneva, engaged with Goodman, Knox, Gibbs, Sampson, Cole, Oxon, and Whittingham in translating and publishing the Bible. This edition was not completed until 1560, when it was published at Geneva, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. It is the version known as "the Geneva Bible"; sometimes waggishly called "the Breeches Bible," because of its rendering of Gen. iii. 7. It was the first English edition in which the chapters were divided into verses. Its marginal notes were thought to reflect upon the queen's supremacy; and therefore it was denied a publication in England. The author of the "Discours"—published, it will be remembered, in 1575—says, "Men maie maruelle that suche a worke (beinge so profitable) shulde finde so small fauor as not to be printed againe." But the next year it *was* printed in England; and again, in 1579; and in 1616 had passed through about thirty editions; mostly by the queen's and the king's printers. Other editions were issued at Geneva, Edinburgh, and Amsterdam. (Neal, I. 83. Horne's Introduction, II. 244. Strype's Parker, 207.)

When Elizabeth came to the throne, Coverdale was still at Geneva, and the news of that event brought him immediately to England, where he preached on different occasions at Paul's Cross. (Strype's Annals, I. 300, 407.) Further particulars about him will be found hereafter in the text.

The chief materials of this note, where reference is not made to other authorities, I gather from the Biographia Britannica; "The Remains of Coverdale," published by the Parker Society; and D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, Vol. V.

Hallam (57, note) says that the accounts of the early editions of the English Bible, as given by Burnet, Collier, Strype, and others, are erroneous or defective; and that the most complete enumeration is in Cotton's list of editions, 1821.

[1] Fuller's Worthies, II. 19. Introduction to the Discours, p. vii. Strype's Parker, 35. Pierce, 46. Neal, I. 119.

He was pained at the indications of poverty which he saw in the apartment of his venerable friend. The furniture was of oak wrought in the simplest manner, and barely sufficed the purposes of necessity; and upon nothing there could the visitor look with satisfaction, but a few choice books bestowed upon the shelves of a rude oaken press. Suppressing his emotions at what he saw, he immediately opened the purpose of his visit.

"As touching that you said, good father, of the closing of your lips, it is burdenous to my soul. We did think it blithe sunshiny weather which God had sent us in the sweet looks of our sovereign mistress, and lo! our sky is already overcast. I take it grievously."

"In good sooth, so do I. We have reason. Papistry by itself be better than mingle-mangle,—Papistry naked, than Papistry cloaked. To my eye, there be strange contradiction in things present. Her Majesty's Council half Popish, half Protestant; the Book of Common Prayer reformed Pope-wise, yet her Majesty Head of the Church; Master Whitehead himself helping to mar the Liturgy, yet hating the marring; Master Whitehead to her Majesty's seeming Papistical enough to be her metropolitan, yet so much of a Gospeller as to refuse! All this bewildereth simple Myles Coverdale."

There was a tinge of bitterness in these words, which grieved Master Whitehead; but he mildly replied, "I cannot be sponsor for her Majesty, good father. But concerning myself there is no reason for bewilderment. In sooth I was of those who were ordered to the reviewing of King Edward's

Liturgy. By her Majesty's commands, our doings were in private and at the lodgings of Sir Thomas Smith, joined with us for his knowledge of civil law.[1] We were not her Majesty's advisers; but under her strait behest, which was, to purge the Liturgy of all which might give scandal or offence to the Papists.[2] Certes! what were we to do but obey? In the king's litany stood the prayer to be delivered from the tyranny and detestable enormities of the Bishop of Rome. The Papists would never gulp that; so it must be stricken out.[3] Then there was the communion service; in the first Liturgy of the king, 'the *body* of our Lord Jesus Christ,'—'the *blood* of our Lord Jesus Christ,'—which agreeth with the doctrine of the corporal presence; in the second Liturgy, 'Take, eat *this* in *remembrance*,' &c., which excludeth the doctrine. We were constrained by commandment to join the two as it now readeth, lest, under color of rejecting the carnal, it should seem to deny the real presence. So that now it readeth as to give not matter of scandal to Papists.[4] For the same reason, *nolens volens*, we must strike out the rubric which declared kneeling at the sacrament no adoring of the bread and wine.[5] All this, sorely to my grief. Prithee! good father, what can the chisel

[1] Strype's Grindal, 23. Strype's Life of Smith, 226. Neal, I. 76. "The men named for drawing up a platform of religion were Bill, Parker, May,—all under King Edward heads of the University of Cambridge, but deprived under Queen Mary, and remaining obscurely in England during her reign; Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, and Pilkington,—exiles, and newly come home."—Strype's Annals, I. 75.

[2] Warner, II. 416. Neal, I. 76.

[3] Warner, II. 417. Heylin's Ref., 283.

[4] Echard, 789.

[5] Heylin's Ref., 283. Warner, II. 416. Burnet, II. 606, 607.

do, save to cut as the hand and mallet do guide it?"

"Didst protest? Didst show thy mind and conscience? Didst plead?"

"Ay; protested on my conscience. For pleading there was no place."

"God be thanked, brother! that thou art scathless of blame. Yet why should her Majesty seek to make thee her Primate of Canterbury?"

"I did withstand the Popish bishops with some show of skill, which did suit her humor. Howbeit, she wisteth not, mayhap, of my contrariness to these changes, and that I did refuse on the score of conscience; for I did excuse myself by saying only, that I could live plentifully on the Gospel without any preferment; and so, by God's grace, I will do."[1]

"Alack! alack! that her Majesty undoeth the work of our good young king! It be a sad thing to order us back to copes and such like things from

[1] Neal, I. 75, 119. Brook, I. 173. This archbishopric was also offered to Doctor Nicholas Wotton, who refused it. (Holingshed, IV. 760. Lodge, I. 337, note. Walton's Lives of Wotton, etc., p. 104.)

"In the time of Henry VIII., Whitehead was chaplain to Anne Boleyn. He was one of four who were nominated to the king by Cranmer to be a bishop in Ireland. . . . . He had a hand in the third edition of the English Liturgy, in 1559. He was one of the disputants in that year against the Roman Catholic bishops. So that in his discourses, showing himself a deep divine, the queen thereupon had so great an esteem for him, that she offered him the archbishopric of Canterbury, but he refused; as also the mastership of the Savoy Hospital, — affirming that he could live plentifully on the preaching of the Gospel without either. It is doubtful, therefore, whether he had any spiritualities of note conferred upon him, he being much delighted in travelling to and fro to preach the Word of God in those places where he thought it was wanting. He lived single, and was therefore better esteemed by the queen. He died in 1571." — Wood's Athenæ, I. 396.

which he delivered us;[1] knowing, as she doth, that our best clergy — Jewel, Grindal, and others, even Horn and Cox[2] — count them relics of the Amorites. It be a sad thing to order the sacramental bread round like a wafer; and the Lord's table against the wall like an altar; and obeisance at the name of Jesus;[3] and the observance of the old festivals with their eves.[4] My heart greatly misgiveth me, lest these be only the first steps backward to the embrace of the Romish harlot."

Thus did these good men deplore the changes in religion, so different from those they had hoped for when it was announced to them beyond the seas, "that the Lorde began to shewe mercy vnto Englande in remouinge Queene Mary be deathe."[5] They

[1] Strype's Annals, I. 122.

[2] Hallam says (p. 107) that all the most eminent Churchmen were in favor of leaving off the surplice and what are called the Popish ceremonies, *except Parker and Cox.* Strype says (Annals, I. 264) that "*Cox* with others *labored all that he could*, upon his first return, against receiving into the Church the Papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside." Even Parker professed "that he was not overfond of cap and surplice, wafer bread and such like." (Strype's Parker, 227, and Appendix, p. 185.) By turning to pp. 33, 67, 69, 208, 243, and 275 of the Zurich Letters, the reader will find the strongest evidence of the aversion of Queen Elizabeth's bishops to "the scenic apparatus of divine worship," "the fooleries," "the ceremonies and maskings," "the theatrical habits," "the relics of the Amorites,"— these are bishop Jewel's words,— which pertained to the established service; and of the earnest manner in which they strove "with the queen and Parliament" to have them removed.

[3] "The Puritans maintained that all the names of God and Christ were to be held in equal reverence; and therefore it was beside all reason to bow the knee, or uncover the head, *only* at the name of Jesus." They objected to the Church festivals or holy days, and particularly to those appointed in commemoration of saints, because they had no foundation in Scripture or in the usages of the primitive Church. (Neal, I. 106, 107.)

[4] Heylin's Ref., 188, 283.

[5] Discours, 186.

were one in their griefs and anxieties, and one in the purpose to make no approaches, in the exercise of their sacred functions, to the superstitions of Rome, and particularly never to adopt "the relics of the Amorites." While in the full fervor of such discourse, to the astonishment of both, Sir Francis Knollys was ushered into their presence, in company with the Lord Robert Dudley.

Sir Francis Knollys was descended from a younger sister of Queen Anne Boleyn; and, of course, was near of kin to Queen Elizabeth,[1] who had installed him as one of her Privy Council. He had been one of the exiles at Frankfort during the troubles there; and, sympathizing with Whittingham and Knox, had been driven thence to Geneva by the intrigues of Cox and his partisans. At Geneva he had been intimate with Calvin, Beza, and their disciples, and had returned to England "a professed Genevian."[2] Consequently, he was far from being a stranger either to Whitehead or Coverdale; who, well knowing his religious sympathies, gave him a cordial welcome.

[1] Camden (p. 88), Fuller (in his Worthies, III. 16), Birch (I. 8), and Lodge (I. 311), speak of Knollys's alliance to the queen as being only through his wife, Catharine Cary, the queen's cousin-german and daughter to Lord Cary of Hunsdon. Heylin also (Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 19) states this connection. But there was *also* a nearer one — of blood. (Heylin's Presb., Bk. I. Sec. 19.) Lloyd says, "The Knollyses were of the same *blood* with her Majesty." (State Worthies, 618.) But Sir Francis himself puts this relationship by blood beyond doubt. In a letter to Whitgift, he speaks of himself as "bound to be careful of her Majesty's safety . . . . . by the strong bands of *Nature*." (Strype's Whitgift, Appendix, Bk. III. No. VIII.) Strype says, "cousin to the queen." (Ibid., p. 156.) See also Wright, I. 272, note.

[2] Lodge, I. 311. Heylin's Presb., Bk. I. Sec. 19; Bk. VI. Sec. 19; Bk. VIII. Sec. 21.

That the attention of the people might not be attracted, the visitors had come without that retinue which custom appended to their out-of-door movements; and for the same reason, their apparel was shorn of its ordinary splendor. Still, with only the appointments of unpretending cavaliers, — gay colors, rich fabrics, plumes, and weapons, — they figured strangely in that rude apartment, with its scant and homely furnishings, and beside men in the humblest sad-apparel of the Church. Dudley was profuse in his expressions of respect; yet with such delicacy of port and phrase as precluded offence, and with such honesty, for the moment, as barred suspicion. Face to face with hoary age and artless piety, the elegant and godless courtier yielded to their influence, and dwindled in his own esteem to a dwarf; his courtesies were measured by the sacred rank of those before him; his lips refused hypocrisy; and he was constrained to an openness of discourse of which he had believed himself incapable. Add to this befitting deportment, his noble mien and princely features, and we cannot wonder that he won at least the momentary confidence of his new acquaintance.

We pass over the courtesies of introduction, and the discourse, interesting to each alike, respecting the days of Warwick, Cranmer, and Hooper. This naturally and easily led to the theme by which Coverdale and Whitehead had been engrossed, and upon which it was the errand of both Knollys and Dudley to engage; a theme, however, whose introduction would not have seemed forced in any circle, being the great topic of the day with all ranks and all parties.

"My lord," said Coverdale, "the plan of reform in King Edward's day was step by step; lest sudden and violent revolution in the Church should stir up rebellion in the State. Thus, the first Liturgy only abated *somewhat* the Popish mummeries. When it had been tried awhile, it was brought under review and altered to a farther distance than it had before from the rituals of Rome. But though it had much less of Rome than before it had,[1] it was the intent of us who were then bishops to purge it yet more, so soon as the people could bear it."

"So I have been told."

"The next step would have been to procure an act of Parliament for abolishing the habits; and this both Cranmer and Ridley did fully intend,[2] and the king himself was about to do it when he died.[3] And *you* know," turning to Sir Francis, "that when it was told in Switzerland that God had pulled down Mary that did persecute, they who had before disagreed touching the ritual did by letters agree to drop contention, to join hands and hearts together at home against superfluous ceremonials in religion.[4] We came home, and lo![5] instead of the further reform which King Edward's bishops did frame, and for which we did hope, we are told to go back to the king's *first* Book, and put on cope and tippet, chimere and what not.[6] All these doings tend to Rome, whether her Majesty wotteth of it or no. God grant she have no intent thereto!"

[1] Heyl. Presb., Bk. I. Sec. 16.
[2] Pierce, 44. McCrie, 408.
[3] Zurich Letters, No. CXXX.; Heyl. Ref., 304. Withers to the Elector Palatine.
[4] Discours, 186–191. McCrie, 152.
[5] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 12.
[6] 1 Eliz. Cap. II. Sec. XIII.

"Her Majesty will never pay Peters-pence," exclaimed Dudley. "She hath the spirit of her royal father, and will never part with her supremacy."

"Yet did her royal sire cleave to the superstitions and idolatries of Rome; and to her heresies, too. Her Majesty and Parliament are moving over the steps of Edward and Cranmer — backward. *Will* they stop ere they get where Henry and Cromwell were? Hey, my lord?"

"I do greatly mislike this undoing of reform, and therefore did give my voice against the bill for Uniformity,"[1] returned Dudley. "But touching the danger of her Majesty's relapse to Popish idolatries, consider, good father, she hath ordered all the gear of idolatry and superstition to be destroyed, — the images of saints, altars, crucifixes, and such like, — which hath already been done. That smacketh not of idolatry, I trow."

"Marry! and retaineth the like vain quiddities and dumb idols for her private uses! Prithee! what meaneth the Popish rood in her chapel? What meaneth it there, when her singing children clap on the surplice, and her priest, the cope? What meaneth the altar there, garnished with rich vessels of silver, and huge crucifix of silver, and burning candles?[2] What smack *these* things of, my lord? They do grieve and alarm the most loyal of her Majesty's subjects."

"We mislike it also, reverend sir. Yet methinks her purpose tendeth no further than will suffice to

[1] D'Ewes, 28.

[2] Zurich Letters, No. XXXIV., Jewel to P. Martyr, Nov., 1559; No. XXXIX., Sampson to P. Martyr, Jan., 1559-60. Burnet, III. 439. Neal, I. 81, 82.

gratify in her own privacy that which we all know she hath inherited from her royal father,—a fondness for state and magnificence, in her devotions as well as in her court."[1]

"Nay, nay," replied Coverdale, gravely. "Thou dost thy devoir stoutly, my lord, like a doughty knight and loyal. For thy right chivalrous heart, I do commend thee. Albeit mine own be old, and worn, and weary, in true and right reverent devotion to our gracious mistress it doth not lag a whit behind fresh youth and princely blood; nevertheless, while I find Babylonish garments enjoined even upon her clergy who detest them, I do gravely question if her use of Popish gear be *only* for her own private pleasing."

"Methinks, reverend sir," interposed Knollys, "her Majesty hath proceeded in this wise as far as she will."

"Mayhap," replied Coverdale, dryly.

"Be it so; be it so,—which God grant!" said Master Whitehead. "Yet, Sir Francis, we do harbor misgivings. While Popish superstitions have the broad seal, and while Popish pomp doth allure and awe the people, wherewithal shall *they* be restrained from backsliding to Rome? Know you not that the learnedest among the Papists *boast* that the face of the nation hath already been set thither; and, withal, by authority?"

"By my troth, nay. Who boasteth thus?"

"No less a man than that arch-idolater, that prime minister of fire and fagot."

"Bonner?"

"Bonner."

[1] Echard, 789. Warner, II. 407, 408.

"What saith he?"

"He heareth how our Parliament hath thought fit to continue some of the Popish superstitions,—'An they sup of our broth, they will soon eat of our beef,'[1] he roundly exclaimeth, and in huge glee."

"*Ma foi!* I do honestly commend him, being myself of the mind that so it would be an the people were left to the natural course of things."

"Say *you* so, too, my lord!" exclaimed Master Coverdale.

"In all sincerity, reverend sir," replied Dudley. "Howbeit, the people will *not* be left to the natural course of things. People and Parliament have a mistress; and my thinking agreeth with that of Sir Francis, that she will *not let* them have the meat; having gone as far backward as she will."

"Your reason, my lord," said Whitehead.

"Ay, my lord,—your reason," echoed Coverdale. "A sound opinion hath good cause."

"Reverend masters! let men gossip as they may, and let you honest Genevans quake never so much, about these few Popish rags,—at which I marvel not, you not seeing the reasons therefor, mayhap,—yet, maugre all, her Majesty is as true a Protestant this day—howbeit not of the same mould—as my Lord Bishop here, who hath ventured even life for the faith."

"Nay, lord me no lord!" protested Coverdale. "My bishopric is over. God grant you be right. Thou givest fair reason for thine opinion. Canst give as good reason for thy reason?"

"I will try. Ponder, I pray you, the straitened

[1] Pierce, 50.

estate of our gracious lady upon her coming to the throne. The Pope had declared her illegitimate,—which meaneth *usurper* with more than half the world. Thereupon the Queen of Scots putteth in her claim to the crown. France on the south, Scotland on the north, at war with her Majesty;—all the Catholic powers her open enemies, save only the arrant bigot and graceless mar-faith of Spain, and he secretly so;[1] for Throkmorton hath writ her Majesty, 'The king of Spain is but a hollow friend unto you, and so may he do you more harm than an open enemy';[2]—all our bishops and a great part of our commoners religiously unloyal,—the flutter of a rag, a puff of air, might have woke them to rebellion;[3]—what was she to do? Marry! to make peace abroad,—the seeming of which she hath now happily attained;[4] next, to get the good-will of her subjects. But the nation was wonderfully divided in opinions; as well in matters of ecclesiastical government, as in divers points of religion.[5] The greatest part of her subjects, Protestants; nevertheless a great part, Catholics,[6]—of course counting her a heretic, a bastard, a usurper. By education and by policy, she was constrained to establish the Protestant religion. But it much behooved her safety to throw a cake to Cerberus,—to pacify and make easy the Papists. For this reason she hath refused the title Head of the Church, and taken only that of Supreme Governess. For this

[1] Wright, I. 6.

[2] Forbes, I. 182; Throkmorton to the Queen, July 27, 1559.

[3] Rapin, II. 57–59. Warner, II. 407. Neal, I. 71.

[4] Strype's Annals, I. 30, 37, 283.

[5] Stow, 635.

[6] Rapin, II. 52, 59 *bis*.

reason, she hath moulded the Liturgy somewhat to the complexion of the Papistical humor, and hath come a step or two closer to the Romish ceremonials. For this reason, she retaineth her sister's councillors; and, in her own chapel, certain symbols of Romish worship; and hath ordered copes and other garments for the clergy, — which opportunely falleth in with her love of display. In fine, she hath discreetly sought to shape the worship of the Church — while putting her ban upon idolatry — more passably with the Romanists, and so to keep them in our communion.[1] The wisdom of all which doth appear; inasmuch that they be quiet, exciting no sedition, and do generally repair to the churches without doubt or scruple.[2] Thus, most worshipful sirs, I conceive that her Majesty's comportment be not from any leaning to superstition and idolatry; is to be scored only to her state-discretion; and maketh naught to the prejudice of her hearty Protestancy. Which I humbly lay down for your fair considering."

"Bravo, my lord!" exclaimed Father Coverdale. "A most puissant advocate! An our maiden queen had not presently given thee guerdon of the Garter, thou wouldst now have earned it. My lord, I will not gainsay thy conclusion. Nevertheless, doth not your lordship somewhat overshoot? An these compliances be lime-twigs to catch Papists, then they be downright Popish. Myles Coverdale will none of them. I mind me none the less, that they who sup the broth will *hanker* for the beef."

[1] Echard, 789, 793. Warner, II. 419. Collier, VI. 264, 480. Burnet, II. 582, 583, 606.

[2] Heyl. Ref., 283. Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 12.

"On that score, be at rest, good father. She who alloweth them is a Protestant, with a woman's will, with queenly power, and will heed the spiritual weal of her realm. Be mindful also that she hath advisers whom ye may trust, who respect your scruples, and will befriend your party, — Sir William Cecil, than whom none hath more her Majesty's ear and confidence; Sir Francis Knollys, here, who hath been school-fellow with Master Coverdale and Master Whitehead under Master Calvin, and whom the queen favoreth to a marvel, he being a worthy kinsman of her Highness; besides that graceless gallant, Robert Dudley."

"An the Lord Robert Dudley and his compeers plead as well with her Majesty for us poor Genevans, as with us for her Majesty, the Lord of lords bless him!" said Coverdale, with patriarchal solemnity.

The courtier, half unconsciously, responded, "Amen!"

"But odds my life!" resumed the former, after a slight pause, "how cometh it to pass, that, with all this tenderness for Papists, not one poor crumb of royal favor hath fallen to us Protestants who sue for a purer worship?"[1]

"I' faith, sir, I know not. But Master Knox hath writ somewhat to Master Secretary Cecil, to whom I did hear her Highness swearing roundly and overloud, one day, about the insolent Scot's letter, and his Blast[2] and new-fangleness. I did not understand

[1] Collier, VI. 278. Strype's Annals, I. 192, 194.

[2] Near the close of Queen Mary's reign, Knox published "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," — i. e. the *unnatural government* of women; a pamphlet provoked by

the discourse; but surmise that the Scotsman hath told tales. How now, Sir Francis! Mayhap you have advisement touching that we speak of."

"Certes, I have! Her Majesty *hath* been plied with tales. Howbeit, not by Master Knox, but by his old adversary. No sooner doth Doctor Cox hear of Queen Mary's death, than he cometh home boot and spur. Before any of us in Switzerland could arrive, he gaineth the queen's presence and bloweth in her ear, with *Da Capo* to boot, the whole Blast of Master Knox's Trumpet; whereat her Majesty did fume right lion-like, finding woman's regiment tilted at in open lists as a thing contrary to God and nature. Now Doctor Cox, seeing her Majesty in fit humor, doth rehearse after his own fashion our troubles at Frankfort; and, with others, did persuade

her Majesty's barbarities. Its doctrine was, "that the rule of a woman is repugnant to Nature, a contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and, finally, the subversion of all equity and justice."

For this, and for his hostility to the English Liturgy, the queen had such a hatred of him, that the very mention of his name was odious to her ear. In March, 1559, her government refused to let Knox pass through England on his way to Scotland. (McCrie, 153.) Yet Throkmorton wrote from Paris, "In my opinion, it is greatly necessary, notwithstanding any difficulty therein heretofore made, that Knox have liberty to repair into England, however short his abode be there." (Forbes, I. 167; Throkmorton to Cecil.) It was at the hazard of imprisonment, that any one should even convey a letter from Knox to the Court of Elizabeth. (McCrie, 153, 157. Strype's Annals, I. 178. Forbes's State Papers, I. 90.)

Knox threatened two other blasts, but they were never blown; partly because the first gave offence to many of his brethren, partly because of Mary's death, and partly because he was desirous to strengthen the authority of Elizabeth. (McCrie, 143. Lingard, VII., Note H.)

The letter to Cecil alluded to in the text was dated April 24th, 1559. In this, without receding from the ground he had taken, Knox acknowledged that Elizabeth was a miracle of an exception to the general rule, — a special production of Divine Providence, — expressly elevated to the government for the

her Majesty that the sort of men who sided with Knox there, and who were with him at Geneva, did hold his doctrine of the monstrous government of women, and were therefore her disloyal subjects.[1] 'These be the sort,' said they, 'who made such stir in King Edward's day about the episcopal robes, at which time they did outrage all decency and comely order in the Church; and, after, did practise such like books as this to subvert Queen Mary withal; and were wont openly to pray God either to turn her heart or take her life. And,' they added, 'the same sort who behaved thus under King Edward and Queen Mary, will so behave under your Majesty, an thou cross their fantasies, right or wrong.' It was bruited, withal, that they who had affected unmeet alterations of the Liturgy were for having

manifestation of God's glory, &c. According to Heylin, (Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 13,) he had the ill grace to prescribe to her a "confession," that, "by God's mercy, that was lawful in her which was contrary to God and to nature in all other women"; *on condition* of which confession Knox would acknowledge her authority, but threatening her with God's punishment otherwise! This representation has the bilious tang which so pervades Heylin's writings as to repel the confidence of his readers.

"Knox wrote to Cecil requesting permission to visit England, and enclosed a letter to Queen Elizabeth, in which he attempted to apologize for his rude attack upon female government. There was nothing at which he was more awkward than apologies, condescensions, and civilities; and on the present occasion he was placed in a very embarrassing predicament, as his judgment would not permit him to retract the sentiment which had given offence to the English queen. In his letter to her, he expresses deep distress at having incurred her displeasure, and warm attachment to her government; but the grounds on which he advises her to found her title to the crown, and indeed the whole strain in which the letter is written, are such as must have aggravated, instead of extenuating, his offence in the opinion of that high-minded princess. . . . . It does not appear that Elizabeth ever saw Knox's letter; and I have little doubt that it was suppressed by Cecil."—McCrie, 180, 181.

[1] Collier, VI. 277, 278. McCrie, 153.

a new fashion of Church polity.[1] Whereupon her Majesty, when first deliberating of the altering of religion, did resolve upon Sir Thomas Smith's counsel;[2] which was to have an eye upon these hot Gospellers, and not to heed their whimseys, but rather to give them "an early check,"[3] lest, being humored once, they should bawl, like spoiled children, to be humored twice, and so without end.[4] Thus, to Doctor Cox's grudge and intrigues, reverend sirs, we may set it down that nothing hath been done to favor your wishes, and that you and others have been treated with harshness and disdain."[5]

We may imagine, perhaps, although we cannot describe, the grief and indignation with which this revelation was heard by men than whom none more loyal and upright were to be found in the kingdom. With that honesty which belongs to self-respect, integrity, and a high sense of honor, the two clergymen spake freely their resentment of the wrong done to themselves and their brethren, and their detestation of the clandestine and insidious means by which it had been wrought, — expressions, however, so tempered with meekness as to excite the admiration of their guests; and the more, because of the nature of the provocation.

"Of a verity," said Master Whitehead, "Doctor Cox hath gained his points, — odium for those who did withstand him at Frankfort, and royal favor for himself. Nevertheless, he is more to be pitied than we."

[1] Collier, VI. 199.
[2] Lloyd, 562.
[3] Camden, 16.
[4] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 11. McCrie, 153.
[5] Strype's Annals, I. 178, 181.

"To be pitied! and he bishop elect!" exclaimed Dudley.

"Nay, my lord; not for being bishop elect, but for being traducer, for being bishop *at the price*. To *be* wronged, is not wrong. To wrong, is to be wronged,—self-wronged and pitiably. He standeth on his bishopric; I, on mine integrity and manhood. A man whole—and who is he but a whole Christian?—holdeth higher rank than a mitred man marred, my lord."

"Most truly and nobly said, reverend sir," returned Dudley with an expressive courtesy, and with an inward twinge. "Would I were often thy pupil!"

"We will bear our wrong," said Father Coverdale, "as quietly as we may; but we must be righted with her Majesty."

"It will be difficult," replied Knollys. "Her Majesty is very jealous of whatsoever seemeth to touch her queenly authority, and holdeth fast her dislikes. It will be hard to convince her that the friends of Knox are the friends of her crown. Every one who hath the smell of Geneva is hateful to her; because there the Scot published his Blast, and there too Goodman a like book on the rights of the Magistrate."[1]

"Impossible!" added Dudley. "And as impossible to change her plan of the ritual. She will not a step back from the pattern she hath scored out. While the changes in Church order were under deliberation, she did indeed suffer herself to be persuaded in some things against her bent.[2] But, the order once fixed,

[1] Zurich Letters, No. CXII.; Beza to Bullinger.

[2] Burnet, II. 614–616. Neal, I. 87. Hume, II. 572.

she will suffer persuasion no more. She hath adopted for her motto, "Semper Eadem!" and she will cleave to it.[1] She knoweth right well, that the greatest part of the most eminent clergy are misliking of Popish superstitions, — bowing at the name of Jesus, the sign of the cross in baptism,[2] the old vestments of the clergy, and such like; yet she will not yield.[3] Here is Jewel, bishop elect of Sarum, and Grindal, bishop elect of London; and Sandys, and Horn, and Parkhurst; — her Majesty knoweth well their aversion to the apparel, and to some things else that be enjoined. But she regardeth not their wishes, although they have had no dealings with Knox. She hath even rejected, in these matters, the advice and remonstrances of her Council.[4] She is of another mind; and will retain things as she hath ordained them. Divines of other countries have prayed her to allow some indulgence respecting rites and ceremonies; but she answereth, that it doth not consist with her interest or honor.[5] In fine, 'Semper Eadem' she hath written; and what she hath written, she hath written."

[1] Camden, 32. Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 174. Echard, 797. Heyl. Presb., Bk. VII. Sec. 38.

[2] Making the sign of the cross, although practised by the earlier Christians upon some occasions, is not mentioned as appended to baptism till about the fifth century.

By the Romanists, it had been supposed to be efficacious to drive away evil spirits, and to preserve one against dangers. They also regarded it as imparting a sacramental virtue, without which baptism was imperfect; and it had been unduly reverenced, as a part of the rite, even by some Protestants.

For these reasons, the Puritans religiously, and like sensible philosophers too, objected to the sign in this ordinance. (Burnet, II. 127. Neal, I. 107.)

[3] Pierce, 46. Hallam, 108.

[4] Zurich Letters, No. CXVIII.; Gualter to Beza.

[5] Collier, VI. 300. Strype's Annals, I. 127, 128. Strype's Grindal, 33.

"Different from the maxim in good King Edward's day," exclaimed Coverdale. "Her Majesty assumeth, for sooth, that in Church matters perfection hath been found, — a sort of infallibility, I trow."

"Nay, good father; she pretendeth not to being infallible."

"Very like it."

"Reverend sirs," said Knollys, "his lordship describeth truly her Majesty's humor. Touching the dress of the clergy, and the order of public worship, she will not change. I pray you, therefore, advise us whether your consciences will allow you to conform to her ordainings, or no."

"Doth not the act requiring uniformity of worship empower her to ordain such further ceremonies or changes in religion as *she* may see fit; and without concurrence of the Parliament, or of the Convocation of the Clergy?"

"Troth, sir; and a point on which her Majesty was resolute, for unless the act had so provided, she would not have passed it.[1] Howbeit the act bindeth her to the advice of her commissioners or of her archbishop."

"Marry! we all know what *that* meaneth. Advice be a supple courtier, and hath a marvellous aptness for bowing at a queen's beck. In the fifty-second of her injunctions, she hath seen fit to order that we do all courtesy and uncover at the name of Jesus; of which I read nothing in the act of Parliament. Prithee! what next? An you, Sir Francis — or your lordship — will tell us, for surety, what orders are *to come*, we will consult our Great Oracle and tell

[1] Strype's Parker, 309. Warner, II. 417.

you about conscience and conformity. Eftsoons, mayhap, we shall be required to make use of other Papistical additions to the ordinances of Christ, — shaven crowns, oil, spittle, cream, salt, and the like."[1]

"Yet you know, good father, what she *hath* decreed."

"To the tithe of a hair."

"Canst conform to such? It is for your sakes, I ask."

"To the garments, to some parts of the ritual, never," said both Coverdale and Whitehead decidedly.

"How of the queen's supremacy? Can you take the oath?"

"In its *letter*, no," replied Coverdale. "It declareth her Majesty to be the only supreme governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal. In all civil affairs she is supreme governor, of right; but I stoutly maintain that the government of the Church — its doctrine, its discipline, its way of worship — properly belongeth, not to any one person civil or ecclesiastical, but to the spiritual officers of the Church in convention assembled; and they, to decree and impose nothing other than is expressed in or derived from the Holy Scriptures.[2] Therefore, I cannot take the oath in the meaning of its letter. Nevertheless, with her Majesty's explication, whereby in plain words she challengeth only the sovereignty and rule, under God, of all manner of *persons*, — not, as in the

[1] Neal, I. 97, note.

[2] Zurich Letters, No. II.; Sampson to Peter Martyr. Neal, I. 78, 79.

oath, 'ecclesiastical things or causes,' — so that no foreign power hath any rule over them, and declareth herself well pleased to accept of it if taken *in that sense*, — in that sense, when there be occasion, I can take it."

"So say you, Master Whitehead?"

"With all my heart."

"By your favor, my masters, one question more. How far, think you, do those of your brethren of the clergy who wish a further reform in religion agree with you touching the oath?"

"All of them, and entirely, I doubt not," replied Coverdale, promptly.

"Which neither do I doubt," added Whitehead.[1]

"You see, my lord," said Knollys, "that our reverend fathers — hot Gospellers, as the phrase goeth, though they be — bear true allegiance to her Highness, — they and their brethren. They demur not to the oath. It is e'en as I told you, my lord."

"Reverend sirs," said Dudley, with a grain of formality in his manner, "I have sought this our conference in part for the resolving of any doubts which perchance might oppress you touching her Majesty's policy and leanings in religion; and partly, that I might best know the true loyalty of men so eminent among those of our Church who are called Genevans. I now declare — and Sir Francis Knollys with me — that we shall strive to favor your cause at court. We cannot hope to gain from her Majesty such laws as you wish, nor even to abate her dislike of your peculiar brotherhood, whom Doctor Cox and

[1] Neal, I. 78. Lingard, VII., Note E.

others have so deeply infamed; but we may secure sufferance, connivance, freedom from annoyance, for you, where betimes conscience may slack your conformity. We have some small influence at court, and shall use it — let but the Genevan clergy remain peaceable — for their favoring. Peradventure we may befriend them to some good purpose. Sir Francis Knollys is true Genevan; a zealous opposer of bishops;[1] bound to you, therefore in honor and conscience. Of mine own conscience, I make little vaunt; and none at all of sanctity, devoutness, and things of that sort, in which, however, I pray God I may not lack. My service will be rendered for two reasons;—first, yourselves; second, myself;—which, being interpreted, meaneth, — first, respect to your persons and good-will to your principles; and second, a purpose of mine own thrift in name and estate. The greatest good in me is my bond to you; the greatest blemish, friendship for myself. My greatest honor will be the furtherance of your interests; my greatest folly, angling for mine own. I pray you, let the demerit of selfishness be outweighed by the merit of honesty; that so you spurn not mine endeavors, and blush not for my friendship. So fare ye well."[2]

Thus, giving opportunity only for the usual courtesies of parting, the lord and the knight abruptly, but cordially, took their leave.

[1] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 152. Strype's Parker, 394.

[2] Southey has well expressed Dudley's position in relation to ecclesiastical parties. "That unprincipled minion favored the Puritans because he was desirous of stripping the bishoprics and securing to himself a portion of the spoils; a design which he could hope to accomplish by no other means than by the triumph of this levelling faction."—Book of the Church, II. 290.

Whatever purpose some of the exiles may have had, at their return, of introducing the Genevan plan of Church government,[1] it was now evidently hopeless. The forms of worship, the Supremacy, the Prelacy, had been established by law of Parliament; the old bishops, upon refusing the Oath of Supremacy, had been deprived of office in July; new bishops had been elected to supply the vacant sees, and were awaiting the ceremony of consecration.

On the 17th of December, before the first tint of morning had appeared, the chapel of the archiepiscopal manor at Lambeth, brilliant with lights, was occupied by a dignified assembly, who were awaiting in silence the solemn inauguration of Queen Elizabeth's first Primate. The floor was covered with red cloth, and the eastern wall was hung with tapestry. A little in advance of this wall stood a table, also covered with tapestry, and prepared for the service of the holy communion. On the south side from the table were four chairs; in front of which were footstools of tapestry, on which lay four cushions of crimson velvet. Opposite to these, and on the other side of the table, was a solitary chair, with its footstool and a single cushion.

On the 8th of June, the queen had nominated Doctor Matthew Parker to the see of Canterbury, who had been chaplain to her mother, to her father, and to her brother, and had remained secreted in the kingdom during her sister's reign. He had been elected accordingly on the first day of August; but certain hindrances, growing out of the recent change of religion, had prevented further progress in the

[1] Heylin's Ref., 304, 305. Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 11, 17.

matter until the 6th of December, when a royal command was issued for his consecration.[1]

After the assembly in the chapel had been for some time in patient expectation, the western door was thrown open, through which entered four persons, each bearing a lighted taper; then, the Archbishop elect, — now in his fifty-sixth year, — clad in scarlet robes, and wearing his hood. He was attended by Barlow, late Bishop of Bath, now Bishop elect of Chichester; Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, now Bishop elect of Hereford; Coverdale, late Bishop of Exeter; and Hodgskins, suffragan Bishop of Bedford.[2] Doctor Parker took the chair on the north side of the chancel, and the four upon the opposite side were occupied by the four bishops. After the reading of the morning prayers by Master Andrew Pierson, Doctor Parker's chaplain, a sermon was preached by Doctor Scory. The Archbishop elect and the four bishops then retired to the vestry, whence they soon returned; Parker, Scory, and Hodgskins wearing linen surplices; Barlow, a silk cope; while Coverdale wore a plain black gown, reaching down to his feet.

[1] Camden, 29. Holingshed, IV. 761. Echard, 790. Strype's Annals, I. 231. Strype's Parker, 1, 11, 52. Nugæ Antiquæ, II. 16. Burnet, II. 622. Lingard, VII. 262, and Note G.

[2] A Suffragan Bishop was one who had been consecrated to perform the spiritual functions of the office within the see of a Lord Bishop, but having himself no title to a seat in Parliament. His episcopal jurisdiction was limited, and his authority might be terminated at the pleasure of the bishop in whose diocese he served. (Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 61. Burnet, I. 257. Mackintosh, I. 313, note.) Yet the term seems to have been used in different senses. Under date of 1562, the *Lord* Bishops in the province of Canterbury are styled the *Suffragans* of Archbishop Parker (Strype's Parker, 121); and it is stated, under date of 1569, that "*hitherto* Archbishop Parker had *declined to have any* suffragans." (Ibid., p. 240, misnumbered p. 232.)

These all kneeled upon their cushions before the table while the Gospel was read by Barlow, who administered the Sacrament. Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskins then conducted Doctor Parker to Barlow, now seated in a chair by the table, saying to him: "Most reverend father in God, we present unto you this godly and learned man to be ordained and consecrated an Archbishop." The queen's mandate for the consecration was then read; the Oath of Supremacy was administered upon the Evangelists; the Litany was sung; and then the solemn act of consecration, by the simple form of the laying on of hands with prayer, was performed by the four bishops. Suitable Scriptural exhortations were addressed to the Archbishop, and the communion was administered. The Archbishop and bishops again retired. Returning soon after, he appeared in his episcopal habit, with rochet and other robes, and with a tippet of fine sable furs about his neck. Barlow and Scory were also clothed in their episcopal habits; but Coverdale and Hodgskins wore only their usual gowns. The Archbishop then confirmed in their offices certain officers of his household, by the delivery of a white staff to each; when he retired by the west door, accompanied by his family, his relatives, and the whole assembly, of whom were Grindal, Bishop elect of London, Cox, Bishop elect of Ely, Sandys, Bishop elect of Worcester, the Register of the Province of Canterbury, the Register of the Prerogative Court, and two public notaries. The proceedings of the occasion were then duly recorded in the Registry of Canterbury.[1]

[1] Camden, 30. Kennett, II. 659, 660. Holingshed, IV. 762. Fuller,

Such was the ceremony, and such were the officials, at the consecration of the first Archbishop of the newly restored religion; a consecration the validity of which was denied, and the facts of which were belied by the Romanists in after years, much and long, to the annoyance of the Anglican Church. It was performed by proper functionaries, according to episcopal usage, and according to the Ordinal of King Edward. But there was no delivery of gloves or sandals, ring or slippers, mitre, pall, or crosier; and the Primate used afterwards to say, with self-gratulation, that the solemnity was without spot or stain of Popish superstitions or vain ceremonies.[1]

On the 20th of the month, the Archbishop confirmed Barlow and Scory, and on the 21st consecrated Grindal, Cox, Meric, and Sandys as bishops of the sees to which they had been respectively elected.[2] Other bishoprics — in all sixteen — were filled by the next midsummer.[3]

The new bishops soon tendered the Oath of Supremacy to the clergy in their dioceses; only one hundred and seventy-seven of whom refused it, although there were in the kingdom nine thousand and four hundred ecclesiastical persons settled in their several promotions.[4] Thus most of the inferior

Bk. IX. p. 61. Heyl. Ref., 292–295. Echard, 794. Strype's Parker, 54, 57, 58. Burnet, II. 623.

[1] Strype's Parker, 61.

[2] Strype's Parker, 65. Strype's Grindal, 33.

[3] Holingshed, IV. 763. Heyl. Ref., 295.

[4] D'Ewes, 23. Strype's Annals, I. 106. Camden and Echard each give 189 as the number of those who refused the oath; Hume, 182; Neal, 244; Warner says "not above two hundred." Lingard is silent on the point.

Anthony Kitchin, *alias* Dunstan, Bishop of Landaff in Wales, was the only one of Queen Mary's bishops who took the oath and thus retained his see.

clergy kept their places, as they had done through all the changes of the last three reigns.[1] The Romish priests satisfied their consciences by reasoning that it were better policy for themselves and for their religion — and therefore but a pious fraud — to hold their places at the price of perjury, than to yield them to be occupied by heretics; and that in this they would be justified by the Roman Pontiff.[2] In this, some of them, if not all, were influenced also by their faith in certain "fond and fantastical prophecies." These were secretly circulated by astrologers of their own communion, who "practised with the Devil by Conjurations, Charms, Casting of Figures, and other diabolical arts"; and were to the effect, that the queen would shortly die, and their own religion be re-established by the coming of the Queen of Scots to the throne.[3]

Notwithstanding the small proportion who were ejected from their cures for refusing the oath, there was a great scarcity of clergy. The Protestant ministers, owing in part to the butcheries under Queen Mary, were far fewer than the vacancies.[4] In the next summer the Archbishop "found many churches in his own diocese shut; and in those which were open, not a sermon was to be heard within the compass of twenty miles.[5] To supply the vacant churches, even in part, "the bishops were forced" to admit to holy orders tradesmen, mechanics, and others

[1] Neal, I. 82.

[2] Camden, 30, 31. Lingard, VII. 264.

[3] 5 Eliz. Cap. XIV. Camden, 58, 152. Collier, VI. 366. Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 96. Strype's Annals, I. 9–11, 88, 441, 465. Carte, III. 410. Heyl. Ref., 286, 287, 314, 329.

[4] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 14. Strype's Annals, I. 266.

[5] Neal, I. 85.

whose chief qualifications were knowledge of the Scriptures, sobriety, good religion, and skill in reading. A few of these "were preferred to ecclesiastical dignities, prebends, and rich benefices,"[1] having been trained in their youth at schools to a tolerable knowledge of Latin, but driven to trades or husbandry "by the discouragements of the times."[2] But most of them were ordained as readers or deacons to small cures, "instead,"—says our annalist, with some bitterness,—"instead of Popish Sir Johns Lack-latin, learning, and all honesty; instead of Doctor Dicer, Bachelor Bench-whistler, and Master Cardplayer, the usual sciences of the Popish priests more meet to be tinkers, cobblers, cowherds, yea, bearwards and swineherds, than ministers in Christ's Church."[3]

Thus was the Establishment of the English Church reconstructed, with stony rigidity and mathematical preciseness; her worship fixed to a genuflexion, and her livery to a shoe-latchet; her inquisitors commissioned and abroad; her hierarchy anointed and equipped; her mistress, mistress of Parliament, Convocation, and Star-Chamber,[4] of dungeon, gibbet, and

[1] Camden, 30.

[2] Strype's Annals, I. 267.

[3] Strype's Grindal, 40. Heyl. Ref., 287. Strype's Annals, I. 266, III. 287, 429.

[4] The Star-Chamber Court was held in Westminster Hall, in a chamber "the roof thereof decked with the likeness of stars gilt"; whence its name,—or perhaps from the word *starra* or *starrs*, the name of contracts in olden times there enrolled. (Stow's Survey, 175 and note, Lond. 8vo edit. 1842.) This court consisted of the Archbishop, and other bishops, the Lord Chancellor or Keeper, the Privy Council, and the Judges,—all of whom were appointed to their offices by the queen, and held them during her pleasure. The whole number was "twenty or more." Her Majesty, when she

rack;[1] and her Bible UNDER the crown. The machinery was complete, and was now to be put in motion.

chose to be present, was *sole judge*. The others could only advise. In her absence, the determination was by a majority, the Lord Chancellor, or Keeper, having a casting vote. It took cognizance of all sorts of offences, contempts, and disorders, not within the reach of the common law; nor did it govern itself by any statute law, but fined, imprisoned, banished, or inflicted corporal punishment, according to the will of the queen, without limitation. Its determinations were as binding upon the subject as an act of Parliament. (Strype's Whitgift, 222. Warner, II. 463. Hume, III. 245, Appendix III.)

[1] Lingard, VIII., Note E. Hallam, 93.

# CHAPTER IX.

## THE KNOUT.

THE ORNAMENTS OF RELIGION DISLIKED. — THE PLAGUE IN LONDON. — GRINDAL, BISHOP OF LONDON, OFFERS A BISHOPRIC TO COVERDALE. — PROCURES FOR HIM THE LIVING OF ST. MAGNUS. — NON-CONFORMITY. — THE QUEEN ORDERS IT TO BE CORRECTED. — THE BOOK OF ADVERTISEMENTS. — DISSENTERS CALLED PURITANS. — THE BOOK OF ADVERTISEMENTS CONFIRMED. — UNIFORMITY PRESSED. — JOHN FOX. — CLERGY SUSPENDED.

### 1563–1566.

THE wheels of the Establishment moved heavily. The Protestant clergy — particularly the most eminent for piety and learning,[1] and including every bishop — disapproved of the ecclesiastical garments, and of those ceremonies which were considered Popish.[2] They agreed in their articles of faith, and refused not the Oath of Supremacy with the queen's explication. But they were of the opinion of Calvin, that in matters of religion nothing should be *exacted* which is not required by the Word of God;[3] and were earnest that their worship should be divested of all the usages peculiar to Rome.[4]

[1] Neal, I. 88, note. Pierce, 44, 46.

[2] Zurich Letters, pp. 243, 275, 276, 308. Strype's Parker, 61, 227; Annals, I. 264. See *ante*, p. 179, note 2.

[3] Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 3. Neal, I. 79.

[4] Strype's Grindal, 28.

It should be remembered that the Church, as such, had had no share in establishing the Book of Common Prayer. It had been made authoritative by Parliament alone, without the advice or concurrence of the Convocation of the Clergy. Elizabeth's bishops were not then in office.

In the Convocation of the Clergy

The nobility were divided on these matters. Yet, even at Court, there was a strong party secretly against the episcopal garments.[1]

Among the common people, the aversion to the ceremonies and habits was even greater than that of any of the clergy.[2] The shrieks of Mary's victims rung yet so terribly in their memories, that Bonner was kept in prison to protect him from the kindred of those whom he had burned.[3] The episcopal garments were indelibly associated in their minds with the Church which he had served, and shared their hatred of its atrocities.[4] Nothing but their fear of the queen kept them from tumult.

The plague was in London. It had come over with the queen's soldiers from France, and then had broken out in their tents and barracks in Kent.

which met in January, 1562–3, the forty-two Articles of Edward VI. were revised, reduced as they now stand to thirty-nine, and adopted without dissension. But they were not sanctioned by Parliament until nine years after. (Echard, 801. Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 72. Strype's Parker, 122. 13 Eliz. Cap. XII. Sec. 1.)

But a proposition to dispense with episcopal vestments, the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the communion, and other Popish rites, was lost by a single vote, — 58 to 59. (Strype's Annals, I. 502–505. Burnet, III. 455. Warner, II. 430. Neal, I. 88, 89. Hallam, 108.) This seems like almost a balance of sentiment in regard to these matters. Yet — although some of the Convocation doubtless favored Popery — there *would* have been a majority in the affirmative, had not the true sentiments and wishes of the members been suppressed. This was partly through dread of a *præmunire*, (Neal, I. 89,) for the queen was keenly jealous of her prerogative, and would brook no meddling with established law; and partly in hope of quietly effecting a change through the more natural channel of the Parliament. (Neal, I. 92 *bis*.) Large numbers of the clergy, not members of the Convocation, were equally desirous of amending the rites of the Church. (Ibid., 89.)

[1] Strype's Annals, II. 129. Neal, I. 91, 95. Heylin, Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 29.

[2] Strype's Parker, 108.

[3] Zurich Letters, No. LI.; Jewel to P. Martyr. Strype's Grindal, 102.

[4] Strype's Annals, II. 126. Neal, I. 95.

It had made its first appearance in the city on the 2d of August; and by the 20th of the month, a thousand were dying weekly. And although by the 27th of November the deaths had been reduced to three hundred a week, it was yet, in the latter part of December, doing its swift work where and on whom it listed.[1] It wrought most along lanes and adown alleys, where Vice kennelled in foul air and rotting filth; or in the tap-room, where roistering youth and blear-eyed old men herded and sang songs. It was terrible — that cry of the stricken when he detected the fatal sign upon his person; terrible — when his frighted fellows fled and left him there, to die; terrible — when the invisible angel, with people hale and strong, trod softly to a scenic show, and suddenly set his seal there upon this one and that, just as the profane jest of the player and the shout of applause were going up before God together.[2] Yet the pestilence smote also the gleeful child in the lap of wealth, the man of high blood and courtly pride, the good man and humble. Among the thousands, rich and poor, gay and thoughtful, good and bad, who yet lingered in the city, was one, good, thoughtful, poor, aged. Like his Master, he had no home; but laid his head wherever it chanced, — sometimes in London, sometimes in its suburbs. Four years before — it was now the year 1563 — he had placed consecrating hands on the head of the queen's first Archbishop. He had been

[1] Zurich Letters, p. 188. Holingshed, IV. 223, 224. Strype's Grindal, 70; Annals, II. 88. Wright, I. 138 and note, and 152. During the year, 20,136 died in London and the out-parishes.

[2] Strype's Grindal, 82. Wright, I. 167; Grindal to Cecil.

offered his old bishopric of Exeter, but had refused it because of the habits and ceremonies retained in the Church, and which he considered Popish.[1] Grindal, the Bishop of London, had offered him certain "livings," but he had thought it not meet to accept of any one. Probably they were benefices which he could not serve in his simple Gospel way, without attracting attention and annoyance. Thus he had lived without a "living"; contented in his lowly poverty, and preaching here and there in churches as he had opportunity. The plague — it had sent a few to heaven — had set an eye on him, thinking him ripe. But he was not quite. He needed a little more of his Father's discipline, — a very little. He had bent, like a bulrush, under the breath of the destroyer; but he had risen up again, and now, on the twentieth day of December, was sitting pale and wan, the guest of a worthy burgher who had welcomed him for Christ's sake.

The Bishop of London sat with him, for he had heard of his sickness, and had come to congratulate him upon his recovery.

Grindal was now in the prime and vigor of his life, forty-four years of age; a kind-hearted man, of a genial spirit, seeking with a single eye the ascendency of the Gospel over the hearts and lives of the people. To-morrow's sun would close the fourth year of his prelacy; in which time he had well tested its burdens. Occasionally a peculiar indentation just above the right eyebrow would betray secret perplexity and care; otherwise, his countenance was open and sunny; for he had not felt the

[1] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 61. Burnet, II. 611. Holingshed, IV. 423, 424.

biting lash of the queen's Supremacy — yet. His eye, without being brilliant and piercing, indicated a clear and active mind. His mouth — rather narrow, the lines of his lips deeply cut, waving, and expressive of quiet good-nature — gave him a pleasant look, even when that one brow was knotted. The beard was so trained as neither to cover the profile of the lip, nor the lively angle of the mouth; upon the chin, it was but a short and narrow tuft; from the cheeks, it was shaven so as to show only upon the line of the jaw downwards where it met beneath the chin, falling thence several inches, and forked artistically at its extremity. This added to the seeming narrowness and length of the entire face; and this face, surmounted by a forehead of unusual breadth, with the backward head still more expansive, rendered "the reverend father in God" a most noticeable person in any assembly.

When he had expressed his gratitude that Father Coverdale was yet spared to the Church, and that the pestilence was now abating, the Bishop turned the conversation to religious affairs; and the spot came upon his brow.

"Good father," said he, "this lack of laborers in the Lord's harvest, it is burdenous to my soul. At the beginning we were fain to turn our hands to sundry artificers, and even to some of baser occupations, men not brought up to learning, and did admit them to the ministry, looking only that they were fair readers and of good conversation. This his Grace of Canterbury did mislike, and sendeth advertisement to forbear ordaining such.[1] But marry!

[1] Strype's Parker, 90. Strype's Grindal, 40.

what could we do? In many town and village churches, not a morsel of preaching or a homily for months together; mothers weeping over unbaptized children, and widows over unburied husbands! 'Fore God, we could not consent to heathendom! We *must* ordain those who offered, how meanly soever qualified; and we did.[1] All this you remember."

"In troth I do, my lord; and sadly."

"But such men are no preachers. They can serve only for ministering sacraments and reading homilies. Prithee, good father, what were homilies made for, in good King Edward's day?"

"For the like straits as ours, my lord. Had there been men enough who could preach, there would have been never a homily devised."[2]

"Troth. Dost bethink thee how they were rated in his statute?"

"As not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons whensoever they might be had."[3]

"Which accordeth with my mind and yours, good father. Now we can make a homily-reader of a Pasquin or a Crispin, but never a preacher. But preaching is the ordinary and ordained means for the reconciling of men to God, and of subjects to their prince; for obedience proceedeth from conscience; conscience is grounded upon the Word of God; and the effect of the Word is wrought by preaching.[4] I pray thee, good sir, see an thou canst draw logical conclusion from these my premises."

[1] Neal, I. 86.
[2] Strype's Grindal, 222; Memorials, III. 591.
[3] Strype's Grindal, 223.
[4] Ibid., 222.

"Marry! my lord, I will try. Obedience to God and the queen dependeth upon conscience; the movement of conscience, upon knowledge of the Word; knowledge of the Word is conveyed by preaching; *ergo*, to make men peaceable toward God and the queen, it behooveth to have plenteous preaching."

"A good logician, reverend father! But, as St. Paul saith, how shall they hear without a preacher? In any one thing, nothing is more plain in the Scriptures, than that the Gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached, — publicly, continually.[1] An thou hadst drawn out thy conclusion a little further, thou hadst spared me the doing it."

"Prithee, my lord, whither?"

"Until it had reached the conscience of one Myles Coverdale, whilom Bishop of Exeter, who in this time of the Church her straitness cometh not up to the help."

"What meaneth your lordship? When hath Myles Coverdale failed aught to preach the Word?"

"Nay, nay; not failed to preach it, but to take preferment where his preaching might more avail, and more help, perchance, to train others to preaching. Herein, methinks, he hath not used his ten talents aright. Moreover, thou wert in Christ before any of us bishops, and it is not well that now in thine old age — and the less well, sith God hath raised thee as it were from the dead — thou be without stay of living.[2] I have therefore come again, and with a plea in each hand, — the necessity of preaching, and the dearth of preaching, to say

[1] Strype's Grindal, 222. [2] Ibid., 91.

naught of how thy living privately may be laid to the neglect of us bishops, — I have come, I say, to crave thine acceptance of preferment. The Welsh bishopric of Landaff is now void. It hath, in troth, suffered much from spoliations under Kitchin, who has died of late;[1] but if any competence of living can be made of it, I would it were thine.[2] In good sooth, I have written this very day[3] to Master Secretary Cecil, that he would further your preferment to it."

In a pleasant but decided tone, Coverdale replied. "My lord, I give thee hearty thanks for thy good intent and sweet kindness. But thou knowest how my conscience is set against even the gear which the Church ordereth for her inferior clergy. How much more, against what she prescribeth for a bishop! It cannot be, my lord; it cannot be."

"Methinks thy mislikings of the priestly garments cannot overtop mine own. Canst not temper the harmlessness of the dove with the wisdom of the serpent? Prithee, good father, what would have become of the Church, if all the Reformers had refused her offices because of inconveniences and offences therein? The Reformation would have come to a stand; nay, Papists would have stood in our places, to the subversion of all true religion.[4]

[1] Strype's Parker, 148.

[2] "Kitchin, *alias* Dunstan, made a grievous waste and spoil of a very wealthy bishopric." (Strype's Memorials, IV. 174. Fuller's Worthies, II. 435, 506; Church Hist., Bk. IX. p. 59.) "Anthony Kitchin, *alias* Dunstan, died Oct. 31, 1563. The bishopric of Landaff was much impoverished by him. Whereupon it was said, 'A bad Kitchin did for ever spoil the good meat of the bishops of Landaff.'" — Wood's Athenæ, II. 559 and note, and 796.

[3] "Coverdale's Remains," by the Parker Society, p. 531.

[4] Zurich Letters, pp. 243, 275; Grindal to Bullinger and to Gualter. Strype's Grindal, 30.

Thou knowest I had great misgivings about accepting my bishopric,[1] wherein I am required to use garments and ceremonies which be contrarious to the simplicity of the Gospel. But the laws of the Church were made without me. I could not change them. The only question was, while the purity of the Gospel remaineth to us safe and free, would I bear these things, not in themselves wicked, or give way to wolves and Antichrist, Lutherans and semi-Papists?[2] Conscience, looking at the peace and safety of religion, bade me sacrifice my wish to the law, and wait for fit opportunity to reverse it. I did so. I ought to have done so. I repent not of it.[3] The question is the same to-day for you, as then for me. Look you to it, good father, lest in shunning an evil, you let slip or damage a good."

"My lord, Peter Martyr did advise to do nothing against thy conscience.[4] Sound, wholesome counsel, my lord. Thou didst follow it; and didst well. I follow it too; albeit there lieth this difference, that *my* conscience saith it be not right to wear habits that have been consecrated to idolatrous uses, and are the very marks and badges of that religion to which I was a bond-slave in my youth.[5] But I pray your lordship, tell me, didst strive earnestly against this idolatrous gear?"

"Verily, those of us bishops who were exiles, when we returned did strive *all we could* with the queen and Parliament against receiving the Papistical habits into the Church, and that all the ceremonies should

[1] Strype's Grindal, 28.
[2] Strype's Parker, 154; Grindal, 106.
[3] Strype's Grindal, 28–31, 295.
[4] Ibid., 30.
[5] Neal, I. 93.

be clean laid aside. When we could not obtain it, Cox, Horn, Sandys, Jewel, Parkhurst, Bentham, and myself consulted what to do, being in doubt whether we would enter upon our functions. Upon conference, we did conclude, with one undivided mind, not to desert our ministry; and this we did for the reasons I have just now rehearsed.[1] I call God to witness, that it lieth not at *our* door that these things are not quite taken away."[2]

"Dost look for opportunity to change the law, my lord?"

"Honestly, no. Her Majesty is inflexible. Nay,— I grieve to say it, — she hath given signs of hankering for more Popish fooleries. Howbeit, his Grace of Canterbury, thank God! hath stayed her purpose."[3]

"My lord, my heart is sore troubled for our gracious queen. The Lord Robert Dudley did urge to me, that these remainders of Popery are kept by her Highness only to prevent quarrel for diversity of religion. It may be so. Albeit, I might ask, what concord hath Christ with Belial? Moreover, another thing oppresseth me. In the second year of her Highness, your lordship did procure search for certain mischievous Anabaptists who had their secret conventicles here. Whereupon her Highness issueth proclamation against them; in the which she also chargeth and commandeth, that no minister or *other person* make any conventicles or secret assembling to use *any manner* of divine service, — save only

[1] Strype's Grindal, 106; Parker, 154; Annals, I. 175, 264, II. 140.

[2] Zurich Letters, No. CXI., Grindal to Bullinger; No. CXXI., Horn and Grindal to Bullinger and Gualter.

[3] Strype's Parker, 109. Neal, I. 87.

in chambers of sickness or noblemen's oratories, — on pain to be imprisoned without bail or mainprise until the day of jail-delivery, and then to be punished at the will of the justice. Dost remember, my lord?"[1]

"I remember well. It was to prevent all pestilence of heresy."

"So be it. But mark you, my lord, it striketh at *any manner* of religious worship in private houses. There seemeth to me a purpose of her Highness to suppress all worship of God in families, whether by no Book or by Book; which is a way to make households godless."

"I do not believe that were her Majesty's intent," answered Grindal, who was yet startled and troubled by Coverdale's juxtaposition of things.

"Nevertheless, according to the letter of the proclamation, I may be dragged to prison without bail or mainprise, an I call together the family of mine host this night to worship God, — as I certainly shall do."

"I think thee safe, reverend father," replied the Bishop, with a smile, "seeing thou art no Anabaptist. But time urgeth me away, good father. How about Landaff? Have I thy final answer?"

"In sooth, yes, my lord. I will none of the Popish badges. I trow your lordship would not be overmuch pleased to see Myles Coverdale in a trice whipped out of a bishopric for non-conformity. Sorry satisfaction to you, and no stay of living to me. Nay, nay, my lord; I have but few days left, and would preach my Master's Gospel in peace. I can find peace only in obscurity."

[1] Strype's Grindal, 123.

"And in penury?"

"Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled —"

"Tush! It is unmeet; it is unmeet. Peradventure there be found some stay of living in *obscurity*, where some chance omissions might not work to thine annoyance, — something, mayhap, under the wing of thine own friend and son in God, Edmund Grindal. Wouldst take it?"

"In thine own diocese? Good, my lord, yes; with all my heart. I like not being mendicant friar. It would give me an humble independence; which, with serving Christ, is all I can ask."

"I thank thee, good father. I shall sleep better to-night; and better still when thou art collated to some benefice suiting thy two wishes."

"Do me another favor, my lord."

"Say it."

"Thou hast access to her Majesty, and her esteem. Thou hast a heart as bold towards the lofty as it is gracious to the lowly. Thou canst not persuade her Highness to lay down her Supremacy. She would sooner pluck out her right eye. But thou mayest, perchance, on fitting opportunity, reason with her to moderate it. It were for the better thrift of the Church, and the greater honoring of Christ."

"I have purpose of that very thing, should there be meet occasion. Thy words quicken it, reverend sir. To my humble thinking, she doth overstretch her prerogative. I hold it not meet, that in ecclesiastical matters which touch religion, or the doctrine and discipline of the Church, she referreth them not unto the bishops and divines of her realm, according

to the example of godly Christian emperors and princes in all ages. They are, in sooth, things to be judged in the Church or Synod, not in the palace. When her Majesty hath questions of the laws of the realm, she sendeth them to her civil judges to be determined. And in case of Church doctrine or discipline, it is in like manner becoming to refer them to the ecclesiastical judges. Whereby she would procure to herself much quietness of mind, better please God, avoid contentions, and be sure to govern the Church in peace.[1] A storm, I fear me, is gathering in that cloud of the Supremacy, albeit now it be no bigger than a woman's hand. Thus, good father, I judge touching her Majesty's Supremacy. And, if God give me grace and opportunity, I shall tell her so. Farewell."

The Bishop's earnestness for Coverdale's behoof soon appeared; for in this month or the next he committed to the venerable man the church and parish of St. Magnus, at the corner of Fish Street,[2] near the bridge foot in London; the living of which amounted to about sixty pounds a year. But "the destruction of the poor is his poverty." Coverdale was utterly unable to pay the first-fruits,[3] and it was a maxim with the queen, from which she rarely departed, to remit no claims of her treasury.[4] Thus

[1] Strype's Grindal, 303.

[2] Strype's Annals, I. 254.

[3] The "first-fruits" was the first year's income of a benefice, due to the crown whenever the minister should take possession. It was payable in two years. A heavy penalty attached to any one who should enter upon a living and neglect to "compound" within a time appointed for the payment of his dues, or who should fail to pay them. (Harrison in Holingshed, Vol. I. p. 230.)

[4] Camden, 420. Fuller's Worthies, II. 508.

there was small prospect of his being able to enter upon the benefice. But he wrote to Archbishop Parker on the 29th of January, 1563–4, pleading that he had been violently ejected from his bishopric in the last reign, that he had received no benefit from it since, that he was now penniless, and not like to live a year, and asking his Grace to join the Bishop of London in moving the queen to remit his first-fruits. In the same letter, he pledged himself, by God's help, to be both faithful and quiet in his vocation. To Secretary Cecil, who had always stood him in good stead in former straits, he also wrote, on the 6th of February: "If — that poor old Myles may be now provided for — it pleaseth thee to obtain this for me, this enough shall be as good as a feast."

The result of these applications was a message, about the middle of March, from the Lord Robert Dudley, that the queen had granted his suit; until which, it is to be presumed, he did not enter upon his cure.[1]

The Act of Uniformity had proved a failure. Many Popish priests, upon taking the Oath of Supremacy and subscribing to the Book of Common Prayer, the queen's injunctions, and the doctrines of the Reformed religion, were permitted to retain their cures and livings, although "they did no part of duty towards their miserable flocks,"[2] and as much as they dared propagated their own faith among

[1] Strype's Parker, 148, 149; Grindal, 91.

[2] Whittingham to Leicester, in Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 47.

their parishioners.[1] These, and some others, held that religious worship was profaned, and religious instruction powerless, without the priestly apparel. By all such, of course, it was scrupulously worn.

But others of the clergy as scrupulously refused it;[2] some, without censuring those who complied; others, abhorring the garments as polluting to the ministry, considering them fitter badges of public penance than of God's service. Indeed, some preached against them boldly; denouncing them as "conjuring garments of Popery," "sibbe to the sarke of Hercules that made him tear his own bowels asunder."[3]

This feeling, and this disregard of law, were particularly prevalent in London; and extended, not to the clerical garments alone, but to religious ceremonies.[4] Some exercised their ministry in one way, some in another; every deviator, according to his own like or dislike. Indeed, some who *wore* the clerical garments disliked them, — as Pilkington,

[1] Strype's Annals, I. 264; Parker, 77, 91.

[2] Collier, VI. 394. Carte, III. 420.

[3] Strype's Parker, 151, 156; Grindal, 107; Annals, I. 520. Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 76. Wright, I. 169, Bishop Berkeley to Cecil.

[4] Strype's Parker, 151; Grindal, 96, 97; Annals, II. 129.

Some read the service in the pulpit, some in the church; some with the surplice, some without. Some kept to the order of the Book; some deviated at pleasure.

At the communion, some administered with surplice and cap; some, with surplice only; some, with neither. In one case, with the wafer; in another, with common bread. Communicants received in different postures, kneeling, standing, sitting.

Some baptized with surplice and the sign of the cross; some, without either; some, in a square cap; some, in a round cap; some, in a button cap; some, in a hat.

There were also other deviations from the prescribed forms. See the report of "disorders," as found among Cecil's MSS., dated Feb. 24, 1564–5, in Strype's Life of Parker, 152.

Bishop of Durham,[1] and Grindal, Bishop of London, who avowed, even to men standing before him on arraignment in his own Court of Commission, that "he would rather minister without cope and surplice, but for order sake and obedience to the queen." In short, there was no uniformity.[2]

However the presence of the plague may have interfered with the correction of these diversities,[3] there were other and more essential impediments. The bishops themselves were in the way. They had pledged themselves not to press their clergy in these things; but rather, to seek their removal, in which they had failed; and although in their Convocation of 1562–3 they had passed canons to correct nonconformity, most of them still connived at it, as far as they could with safety.[4] Even the queen's commissioners had a great aversion to such habits and ceremonies as were considered Popish.[5]

The Puritan clergy were willing to be distin-

[1] Strype's Parker, 155.

[2] Strype's Grindal, 118. Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 17.

[3] Strype's Grindal, 96.

[4] Strype's Parker, 154, 155, 156; Appendix, XXIV., Queen's Letter.

[5] Strype's Parker, 99.

The objections urged by Hooper against the *prelatical* vestments only, were now urged against *all* the garments required of the clergy, whether in their public ministrations or in their ordinary life; and also against certain ceremonies required in ministering the Word and the Sacraments. The sum of these objections was, — the things required are "remainders of Popery," — the peculiar "notes," or insignia, of an idolatrous, Antichristian religion. And so they were.

The reasons in support of these objections have been shown in our recitation of Hooper's plea before the king and Council.

Whittingham, in his letter to Leicester in 1564, expresses in strong but truthful language the utter abhorrence in which the habits were held by many; "chiefly," says Strype, (Annals, II. 125,) "such as had lived in the churches abroad, where they were not used." Whittingham's words are: "Poor policy! to deck the spouse of Christ with the ornaments of the Babylonish strum-

guished by their apparel from the common people. They only prayed to be also distinguished by their apparel from the Popish priests.[1] Whittingham, the Dean of Durham, in his earnest pleading with the Earl of Leicester, writes: "We refuse not to wear such apparel as shall be thought to the godly and prudent magistrates most decent to our vocation, and to discern us from men of other callings, *so that we may ever keep ourselves pure from the defiled robes of Antichrist.*"[2] They maintained, that though in themselves the garments were neither good nor bad, and were not referred to in the Bible, yet to use them, *associated as they had been and still were with a false and idolatrous* religion, was a grievous wrong to the true Church.

*First.* Because "to use the outward show and manner of the wicked, is to approve their false doctrine. God forbid that we, by wearing the Popish attire," — it was Popish as well as academical, — "as a thing but indifferent, should *seem* thereby to consent to their blasphemies and heresies."[3] "They were in the same case," said the Dean of Durham, "as a certain Christian soldier was, in the days of

pet, or force true preachers to be like in outward show to Christ's enemies." (Strype's Parker, Appendix, XXVII.)

Grindal and others argued, as did Hooper's opponents, that these things were neither commanded nor forbidden in Scripture, and therefore might be, and were, made obligatory by civil statute. (Grindal in court; Strype's Grindal, 117.)

The reader will find the Puritan positions and arguments more fully stated by referring to Strype's Annals, II. 125, 163–168; Strype's Parker, 171; Neal, I. 96, note, and 99, note; and to the letters of Bishop Pilkington and Whittingham, in Strype's Parker, Appendix, Nos. XXV. and XXVII.

[1] Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, to Leicester; Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 40.

[2] Ibid., 46.

[3] Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 44; Whittingham to Leicester.

Paganism, who would not wear a garland, as did his fellows, lest he should *seem* to consent with idolaters, and so bring true religion into doubt. Many of his fellow-Christians disapproved, that, for *so small a trifle*, he would hazard the Emperor's favor, and so his own life. They said, 'It was *not against* the Scriptures.' But Tertullian justified him, saying, 'that if it could be said that wearing the garland was lawful because it was not forbidden in Scripture, it could be retorted, that it was not lawful because it was not commanded."[1]

*Second.* Because the use of these garments would help to reconcile "simple Christians" to idolatry, and help to confirm Papists.[2] "The prebendaries in the cathedrals," said they,—and they knew what they affirmed,—"and the parish priests in other churches, retaining the outward habits and inward feeling of Popery, so fascinate the ears and eyes of the multitude, that they are unable to believe but that either the Popish doctrine is retained, or at least that it will shortly be restored."[3] "The Lord's men in the ship of Christ ought not to creep so near the flats and rocks, as to put their whole charge in danger of perishing by falling on them."[4] "If we compel the godly to conform themselves to the Papists, I fear greatly *lest we fall to Papism*," wrote Whittingham.[5]

*Third.* Because the prince has no right to infringe upon Christian liberty. "None can call *this* Christian liberty, where a yoke is laid on the disciple's neck.

[1] Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 44; Whittingham to Leicester.

[2] Strype's Annals, II. 164 (fol. edit. I. 485).

[3] Zurich Letters, No. LIII.; Lever to Bullinger.

[4] Strype's Annals, II. 165.

[5] Strype's Parker, Append., p. 46.

where the conscience is clogged, true preachers threatened, the course of God's Word stayed, the congregations spoiled of godly and learned pastors, and the sacraments brought under subjection of idolatrous and superstitious vestments."[1] "The prince has no right thus to yoke Christian men. He has no right to *enjoin* things in themselves indifferent, when the circumstances of the times *render* their use hurtful; and none to *forbid* things in themselves indifferent, when the circumstances of the times make their use necessary to the edification of the Church."[2] In either case, he would "not only manifestly infringe upon Christian liberty, but would cause the whole religion of Christ to be esteemed no other thing than the pleasure of princes."[3] In other words, *compulsion* in religious matters is beyond the prerogative of the magistrate. Commandment herein is a tyranny.

Thus were initiated the grand questions, — What are the rights of the prince? what, the rights of the subject?

In the latter part of the year 1564 there was "a common report that great offence was taken" — at Court — "with some of the ministers, for not using such apparel as the rest,"[4] and "that a decree was either passed or at hand to compel the wearing of the old Popish apparel, or the loss of livings and deposition from the ministry."[5] This report was

[1] Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 44; Whittingham to Leicester.
[2] Strype's Annals, II. 166.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Pilkington to Leicester, "Oct. 25, 1564."
[5] Whittingham to Leicester, "1564."

received with great apprehension, and regarded as "the malice of Satan, to raise great trouble in trifles, where he could not overthrow the greatest matters"; "to thrust from their ministry, for so small things, many who were ready to leave it and their livings, rather than be like Popish teachers in apparel or behavior; and thus to leave many places destitute of preachers."[1] Such were the opinions of a conforming bishop. Efforts were accordingly made, by letters of appeal, and by making personal influence at Court, to forestall and baffle the movement.[2] The rumors were not without foundation.

On the 28th of January, 1564–5,[3] the queen took her first step in the matter by addressing a letter to her metropolitan. "Ceremonial diversities in the Church," was her strange postulate, "must needs provoke the displeasure of Almighty God, and bring danger of ruin to the people and country. It had therefore been her earnest care to prevent diversi-

[1] Pilkington to Leicester, "Oct. 25, 1564."

[2] Strype's Parker, 156; Append. Nos. XXV. and XXVII. Warner, II. 431, 432.

[3] The queen's letter is without date, except as prefixed by Strype, who has made a mistake of three days. On the 30th of January, 1564, — i. e. 1565 as we reckon, — Parker wrote to Grindal, saying that the queen, by letter "on the *twenty-eighth* day of this present month," had required him to investigate disorders, &c. The letters are in the Appendix to Strype's Parker, Nos. XXIV. and XXVI. Parker required Grindal to ascertain what disorders existed, and to certify the same to him "by the last day of February at *farthest*." Accordingly, Feb. 14th, — not 24th, as in Neal, — 1564–5, there lies on Cecil's table a *report* of "disorders," — the substance of which is given *ante*, p. 219, note 4, — doubtless the summary of them as rendered in obedience to the Archbishop. (Strype's Parker, 152.)

When, therefore, Mr. Neal says that the queen's letter was provoked by the report made to Cecil, he simply says that February comes before January. The report was caused by her Majesty's letter, not the letter by the report.

ties of *opinions* or novelties of rites. But notwithstanding, — through the negligence of her bishops, — varieties, not only of opinions, but of external ceremonies, had crept in, and were on the increase." Upon these premises, her Majesty proceeded to declare her will and purpose. "We, considering the authority given to us by Almighty God, . . . and how we are answerable . . . to the seat of his high justice, mean not to endure or suffer any longer these evils in our realm, but have certainly determined to have all such diversities . . . to be reformed and repressed and brought to one uniformity through our whole realm and dominions. . . . And therefore we do by these our present letters . . . straitly charge you, being the metropolitan, . . . to cause to be truly understood what varieties . . . there are in our clergy, or among our people, . . . and to require reformation, . . . so as uniformity of order may be kept in every church. . . . And we straitly charge you, that none be hereafter admitted or allowed to any . . . . place ecclesiastical, . . . but such as shall be found . . . well and advisedly given to common order, . . . and shall promise to use the same office in truth, concord, and unity, and also to observe . . . all the external rites and ceremonies. . . . We intend to have no dissension or variety grow, by suffering of persons which maintain the same to remain in authority. For so the sovereign authority which we have under Almighty God should be violate and made frustrate, and we might be well thought to bear the sword in vain. And in execution hereof, we require you to use all expedition, that hereafter

we be not occasioned, for lack of your diligence, to provide such further remedy by *some other sharp proceedings as shall perchance not be easy to be borne* by such as shall be disordered."[1]

Two days after the date of this missive, the Primate, in his turn, issued orders to the Bishop of London to take measures accordingly; in particular, that he should cause to be reported to his Grace, "by the last day of February next to come, at farthest," all incorrigible persons, and also all the existing varieties and disorders.[2]

This report was rendered, and by the Archbishop was laid before Mr. Secretary Cecil on the 14th of February. In it were specified "the confused varieties that divers ministers used in the service of God, and in their habits which they wore."[3]

For carrying into effect her Majesty's purpose and command, the Archbishop, with the help of four other bishops, then drew up a Book of Articles for enforcing uniformity. The orders therein set down, which it chiefly concerns us to note, were: — 1. That all licenses to preach which were granted *before the first day of March*, 1564–5, should be void, — i. e. all preachers throughout the kingdom were at once disqualified. 2. A minute prescript of apparel to be worn by ecclesiastical persons.[4] 3. Certain prom-

[1] Strype's Parker, Appendix, No. XXIV.

[2] Ibid., No. XXVI.

[3] Strype's Parker, 152.

[4] As this matter of apparel was the chief matter of controversy, I give an abstract of the whimsical and annoying articles under this head in the book. Yet it should be remembered that the Dissenters did not object even to such Pharisaical exactness. It was only with the *Popish pattern* they were offended. Compare *infra*, p. 381.

*Item* 2. All deans of cathedral churches, masters of colleges, &c.,

ises to be made by those who should take out new licenses. Of these promises — the *subscribing* of which was the condition of licensure — the most important were, not to preach but by special license of the bishop under his seal; to use the apparel according to order appointed; and to maintain such order and uniformity, in all external policy, rites, and ceremonies of the Church, as are already established.[1]

On the 3d of March, the Archbishop made a preliminary movement, by summoning before the ecclesiastical commissioners four London ministers, and two of the most distinguished of the Non-conformists, — Sampson, Dean of Christ's Church at Oxford, and Humphrey, President of Magdalen College. This was merely to inquire into their reasons for non-conformity,[2] to argue with them mildly, to exhort them to conformity, and to advertise them of coming deprivation if they did not comply.[3]

On the 8th, the Archbishop sent his Book to Cecil; urging that it should pass the Council and receive

&c., in their common apparel abroad, shall wear a side gown, with sleeves straight at the hand, without any cuts in the same; also a tippet of silk; but no falling cape. *Item* 3. All ecclesiastical persons, or others having ecclesiastical living, shall wear the cap appointed, and no hat but in their journeyings. *Item* 4. In their journeyings they shall wear their cloaks with sleeves put on, and like in fashion to their gown, without guards, welts, or cuts. *Item* 5. In their private houses, they may use their own liberty of comely apparel. *Item* 7. All other inferior ecclesiastical persons shall wear long gowns of the fashion abovesaid, and caps as afore is prescribed. *Item* 8. Poor parsons, &c., if their ability will not suffer them to buy them long gowns of the form prescribed, shall wear short ones of the same pattern. (Sparrow, 127, 128. Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 51.)

[1] Sparrow, 123 – 129. Strype's Parker, Append. No. XXVIII.

[2] Strype's Parker, 162.

[3] Strype's Annals, II. 129.

the queen's authority, without which it could not have the strength of law,[1] and would be "like to lie in the dust." On the same day, Sampson and Humphrey signified to him that they could not change their minds; on the same day he had the mortification to receive the Council's refusal to ratify his Book of Articles; and on the same day, being "somewhat chafed," and "in some heat," he wrote to Cecil: "If this ball be tossed to us, and then we have no authority by the Queen's Majesty's hand, we will sit still. If you remedy it not by letter, I will no more strive against the stream, fume or chide who will."[2]

The Lord Robert Dudley, now the Earl of Leicester, whatever his perfidy in other cases, was now true to his pledge and policy of befriending the Dissenters, — for the sake of plaguing the Archbishop, against whom he had a private grudge, and of serving his own by-ends.[3] He, Sir Francis Knollys, the Lord North, and some others, at Court and of the Council, secretly endeavored to thwart, or at least to embarrass, these vigorous disciplinary measures.[4] At this juncture, they interposed their influence, and persuaded her Majesty to evade the odium[5] of these measures, by refusing her sanction to the very book which had been drawn up in obedience to her own order.[6]

[1] Strype's Annals, II. 131, and 1 Eliz. Cap. II. Sec. XIII.

[2] Strype's Parker, 158, 159, 160, 162.

[3] Ibid., 156.

[4] Strype's Parker, 155, 160; Annals, II. 129. Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 28, 29. Warner, II. 431, 432.

[5] Collier, VI. 401.

[6] Strype's Parker, 159, 160; Annals, II. 130.

"It was difficult to find her right humor at any time. Her

But the queen being *privately* earnest and resolute with his Grace, and urging that his canonical authority, supported by that of the commissioners, was sufficient of itself, they were constrained to enforce the Book of Articles, although they could print it in their own names only, and by "a modester denomination, viz. Advertisements."[1]

There was hardly a man at this time in greater esteem than John Fox. His "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs," published in 1563, and containing a history of the cruelties of Pagan and Popish persecutors of the Church, was in such repute, that the Convocation of 1571 ordered every archbishop, bishop, dean, and archdeacon, to place it with the Bible in their halls and dining-rooms for the use of guests and servants.[2] As some reward of this his labor, her Majesty had lately bestowed upon him the prebend of Shipton, belonging to the church of Sarum, or Salisbury. She was particularly "contented" with him, however, because he had told her that he had divers "monuments" of *herself* which he

wisest men and best counsellors were oft sore troubled to know her will in matters of state; so covertly did she pass her judgment, as seemed to leave all to their discreet management; and when the business did turn to better advantage, she did most cunningly commit the good issue to her own honor and understanding; but when aught fell out contrary to her will and intent, the Council were in great strait to defend their own acting and not blemish the queen's good judgment. Herein her wise men did oft lack more wisdom; and the Lord Treasurer Cecil would oft shed a plenty of tears on any miscarriage, well knowing the difficult part was, not so much to mend the matter itself, as his mistress's humor." — Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 357, 358.

[1] Strype's Parker, 158, 161; Annals, II. 131. Collier, VI. 400. Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 17.

[2] Strype's Parker, 322. Heylin's Presb., Bk. VII. Sec. 41. Collier, VI. 500.

had thought of compiling into her History, but that he would rather transfer the task to her own royal pen, for none could do it better![1]

"Though the richest mitre of England would have counted itself preferred by being placed on his head, he contented himself with his prebend, pleased with his own obscurity. Whilst proud people stretched out their plumes in ostentation, he used their vanity for his shelter; more pleased to have worth, than to have others take notice of it."[2] He had his own notions in King Edward's day about "mathematical caps with four corners," and "theatrical dresses," on ministers of the Gospel. His dislike of these Popish insignia had been confirmed during his exile, particularly by what happened at Frankfort, — for he was there with Whittingham and Cox; so that, at this time, he detested the Popish garments as much as he did Popery, which was as much as he did Sin, which was as much as he could. He was as firmly rooted in his opinions as an English oak in its soil; yet he was a mild and gentle man, never troubling others who did not think and do as he did.

It was proposed to show the seriousness of the queen's purposes, and to test the efficacy of her new commands, by citing one so high in her esteem as he, and so widely known and honored. Lesser folks could not hope to escape, if he were taken in hand. "Subscribe!" he exclaimed, when called before the commissioners to sign the promises annexed to the Book of Advertisements, — "yes, sirs! I will subscribe to *this*," taking a Greek Testament from his pocket; "and if this will not serve, take my prebend of

[1] Strype's Parker, 188. [2] Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 381.

Salisbury. It is my only preferment in the Church. May it do ye much good, if ye take it!" The experiment was a failure; for the commissioners would not venture upon punishing such a man. He kept both his resolution and his prebend "to the day of his death; such respect did the bishops (most, formerly his fellow-exiles) have to his age, parts, and pains."[1]

In the latter part of March, the commissioners cited many of the dissenting clergy; conferred with them; admonished and threatened. The proceeding was unfortunate; for so lame was the cause of Precisianism, that the commissioners were hard pushed in the conference, and gave the others opportunity publicly to utter other "contrarious" opinions than those against the vestments. "I wish," wrote the Archbishop to Cecil, on the 24th of the month, soon after this conference, "I wish that you either had not stirred in this affair, or at the outset had sanctioned it; . . . . . for when these men see how the game goes, they return only the more refractory. Not only are the rites of apparel, now, in danger, but *all other rites universally*."[2] They had publicly opened the whole question against the various ceremonies ordained by law!

On the same day — probably after this letter was written — the Archbishop, with the Bishop of London and others, sat in ecclesiastical commission at Lambeth, resolved to "*enjoin* from that day forward" the use of the gown and cap.[3] In answer to sum-

[1] Fuller's Ecclesiastical History, Bk. IX. p. 76. Heylin's Reformation, 337.

[2] Strype's Parker, 161; Annals, II. 129.

[3] Strype's Grindal, 98.

mons, there appeared before them one hundred and forty clergymen, some of them the Archbishop's "peculiars in the city," some whose livings were in Southwark on the other side of the Thames, and some ministers of London.[1] They were required to promise, by their several subscriptions, "to wear the surplice at all divine administrations, and to observe the Book of Common Prayer as was appointed by the statute," or be immediately sequestered from their livings and — upon three months' obstinacy — to be deprived.

There was a minister of London — Thomas Cole — who had hitherto refused the habits, but had been persuaded to resume them. Him, therefore, — as if by way of atonement, — the commissioners now placed conspicuously by their side, clad in the approved mode, — a visible pattern to his brethren. "My masters, and ye ministers of London!" the Bishop's Chancellor then said, "ye see this man here, with a square cap on, a scholar's gown priest-like, and a tippet. It is the pleasure of the Council that ye do strictly keep the unity of apparel like him; and that, in the church, ye do severally wear the linen surplice. Moreover, that ye do inviolably observe the directions printed in the Book of Common Prayer, the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, and the Canons of the Convocation. Ye that will subscribe, write *Volo*. Ye that will not, write *Nolo*. Be brief. Make no words."

Some of the ministers attempted to speak. "Peace! peace!" cried the Chancellor. "Apparitor! call over the churches. Let each minister give his answer

[1] Strype's Grindal, 98, 99; Annals, II. 129.

when his church is named. Masters! answer instantly, under penalty of contempt of court; and set your names."[1]

It was piteous to read the consternation and distress upon almost every face; to see the mute struggle there between fear of poverty and fear of God; to see hearts of oak heave, as each man wrote his name. Thirty of them wrote *Nolo;*[2] were suspended; and went away sad, but trusting in God. The assenters departed, mourning and crying out in anguish, "We are killed! we are killed in the soul of our souls, for this pollution of ours; for that we cannot perform our holy ministry in the singleness of our hearts!"[3]

It was now that the dissenters were first called PURITANS, "as men that did profess a greater *purity* in the worship of God, and a greater detestation of the ceremonies and corruptions of Rome, than the rest of their brethren."[4]

Admonition and threatening did not prevail. Severer measures were therefore resolved upon, although the requiring of subscription had no authority of law, and although the Bishop of London, "whose temper was naturally mild, was averse from vigorous measures." He seems, however, to have been gained over to more show of vigor, by a peremptory letter from the queen, to whose express authority only would he yield in such a case.[5] Sampson and Humphrey were detained in London a

[1] Strype's Grindal, 98.
[2] Strype's Grindal, 99; Annals, II. 130.
[3] Strype's Grindal, 98.
[4] Strype's Parker, 192. Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 76. Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 17; Ref., p. 344.
[5] Strype's Parker, 161, 162; Grindal, 97.

year or more, by command of the commissioners. "Bishop Grindal prayed Sampson, even with tears, that he would but now and then, in the public meetings of the University, put on the square cap; but he could not prevail." Both refused to conform, and were ordered into custody, though not to prison. Sampson was deprived of his deanery.[1]

Others also, who would not come under obligations to use the habits, were suspended from their ministry, to be deprived after three months if they did not comply.[2]

For a while these proceedings, which were irksome to the bishops, were now suspended;[3] and when, in January, 1565–6, the Archbishop intended to revive them, he found himself embarrassed. The dissenters had such repute as men of parts, that "they were much put up to preach public sermons"; and though they did so before the queen without the habits, they escaped censure.[4] The example of London

[1] Strype's Parker, 162, 184–186. Collier, VI. 402. Heyl. Ref., 336. Warner, II. 431, 432. Wood's Athenæ, I. 550.

"In 1560, the queen designed Sampson to be Bishop of Norwich. He refused, for no other reason, it was supposed, but disaffection to the hierarchy and ceremonies of the Church. In 1561, he was installed Dean of Christ Church in Oxon. He was an enemy to organs, ornaments of the church, clerical vestments, and the square cap; always, like Humphrey, wearing the round cap. After many admonitions to conform, and entreaties from the bishops so to do, he was removed from his deanery in 1564[?]. Afterwards he obtained the mastership of the hospital at Leicester (besides the prebend of St. Pancras in the cathedral church of St. Paul), where, continuing for some time in teaching, he was, by leave and favor of the queen, permitted to be a theological lecturer in Whittington College, in London. In less than six years after, he was taken with palsy, but preached and wrote the rest of his days. He died April 9th, 1589, aged 72 years." — Wood's Athenæ, I. 550, 551. (Strype's Annals, II. 150.)

[2] Strype's Parker, 187.

[3] Ibid., 156, 211.

[4] Ibid., 213.

would control the nation; and it was therefore thought necessary first to revive the discipline there. But the London clergy "generally" yet forbore the observance of the surplice and the rites prescribed; they were more averse to them than were any others in the land; they were in great favor and esteem in the city; they, and their brethren who conformed but disliked *compulsion*, were again bestirring against it men of influence in the Court; and, though the Archbishop and the commissioners had power both to deprive and to imprison, his Grace was shy of proceeding to these extreme measures against *such* a "stream," and with only her Majesty's verbal order.[1]

In these straits, on the 12th of March, he again appealed to Cecil. "These cold doings, delays, tolerations," he said, "to which he had been persuaded upon *political* considerations, he did noways approve. Hurt came of them. The parties hardened in their disobedience. The queen's displeasure was incurred, to see how her commandment took little effect. Some of these men offered themselves to lose all, yea, and their bodies to prison, rather than they will condescend. But such vigorous courses he did not think fit to attempt, having no more warrant and help; lest, after much stirring, he might do little in the end but hurt. Some whom it behooved to help him declined, as much as they could, meddling any more in the matter, got their heads out of the collar, and left the odium upon those that honestly furthered the queen's commandment."[2]

For these reasons, he sent his book again to the

[1] Strype's Parker, 161, 211, 213, 214. [2] Ibid., 212, 213.

Secretary, — accompanied by a letter to her Majesty of the same purport, — requesting that it might be returned with some authority.[1]

This application was effectual. Her Majesty issued proclamation "peremptorily requiring uniformity. So that now the wearing of the apparel, and obedience to the usages of the Church, became *absolutely* enjoined; and that, upon pain of deprivation and prohibition of preaching. The queen hereby, by her own authority, *confirming* and *ratifying* the Book of Articles; or at least so much of it as related to apparel," for the neglect of which, there being no penalty in the statute, fine or imprisonment might be inflicted.[2] The Archbishop also received the queen's command, — "*according as his Grace had suggested,* — that they should resolutely proceed with the London ministers."[3] The knout was now in his hands.

On the 26th of March, 1566,[4] — the second day of the year as then reckoned, and a little more than a year after the occurrences in the chapel at Lambeth which have been narrated, — "all manner of parsons, vicars, and curates, serving within the city of London," made their appearance, except nine or ten, "according to command," before the commissioners at Lambeth. "After serious discourse and exhortation, each one was asked singly whether he would conform, or no, to the ecclesiastical orders prescribed." Sixty-one promised, among whom were a few who

[1] Strype's Parker, 212.

[2] Blackstone, IV. 123.

[3] Strype's Parker, 214 *bis.* Collier, VI. 429.

I have been careful to quote the exact words of Strype, because Mr. Neal uses this language: "The queen would give no authority to the Advertisements." (I. 98.)

[4] Strype's Parker, 215, Appendix, p. 79; Grindal, 104.

before had been backward; thirty-seven refused.[1] Those who denied were to be suspended from their public ministrations and sequestered from their livings, from and after the 28th, until they should comply, and to be absolutely deprived of all their spiritual promotions if they continued contumacious three months.[2]

"Methought they would have been rough and clamorous," said the Archbishop afterwards to Secretary Cecil; "albeit they did show reasonable quietness and modesty. Some of them, of more zeal than learning or judgment, I trow, — mere ignorant and vain heads, sely recusants, — I would were out of the ministry; but others, of the best. Six or seven of them were convenient, sober men, pretending a conscience. I doubt not were thereby moved." [3]

"Strain you not the cord too tightly, good my lord bishop?" [4]

"Tush! they will come to their senses when want pinches; leastwise, such as by a spiced fancy hold out. The wood is green yet, Sir Secretary! Eftsoons, they will feel." [5]

In part, he was right. Some of the refusers afterwards yielded.[6] But others held to their "spiced fancies," and were cast adrift to battle with poverty for wives and children as they could.

Now did the "Genevan Gospellers" *begin* to feel

[1] Strype's Grindal, 104; Parker, 215. Collier, VI. 429.

Mr. Neal has confounded the doings of the commissioners on the 24th of March, 1564–5, with their doings on the 26th of March, 1566. His narrative (I. 98) belongs to the former; the number of the refusers which he gives, to the latter.

[2] Strype's Parker, Append. p. 79.

[3] Ibid., 215, 217, 218.

[4] Ibid., 162.

[5] Ibid., 215.

[6] Ibid., 217.

how seriously the governess of the Church had taken up the libel which Doctor Cox had whispered. So bitterly did they feel it, that they repented of having returned from exile to their native home![1] But they acquiesced in God's appointment, and went their ways to earn bread. Some became printers, some went to teaching children, some to trade, some to husbandry; some became private chaplains to the gentry. But "many" of London and of other dioceses who had large families were reduced to beggary.[2]

Among the suspended was Whitehead; though, like some others, he "would not obey suspension," but preached the Word wherever he had opportunity. He was under the shadow of the queen's special favor, who esteemed him as a man of parts; but more, as a clergyman *unmarried*.[3] Whittingham was another; though he afterwards subscribed, and was restored to his deanery of Durham. He was always a lukewarm conformist at best, and justified his compliance only by Calvin's judgment, — "that for external matters one might not neglect and leave the ministry."[4] "Poor old Myles," also, was compelled to relinquish his humble benefice. But he too continued to preach where he could, being connived at through respect and policy, as were Fox, Sampson, Lever, and a few others.[5]

The Puritans were in sore trouble; — ministers de-

[1] McCrie, 154.

[2] Strype's Parker, 215–217; Grindal, 99; Annals, II. 162, 169. Neal, 102.

[3] Strype's Grindal, 98; Parker, 226. Brook, I. 173 *bis*.

[4] Strype's Grindal, 98, 99; Parker, 157.

[5] Strype's Parker, 223, 243; Grindal, 116.

prived of livelihood, the laity of the preaching of the Word. As the commissioners had anticipated,[1] many of the churches were shut up for want of ministers. Six hundred persons came to a single church in London, on Palm Sunday, to receive the communion, but the doors were shut, there being no one to officiate. A scanty deputation of chaplains was sent by the bishops to meet the emergency; but they were far from being enough, and ministered in the offensive garments and with every offensive rite. The people were greatly incensed. Some churchwardens would not provide surplices, or wafer bread, for the sacrament. Others even opposed and disturbed the chaplains. The Archbishop had told the queen, "that these precise folks would offer their goods, and their bodies to prison, rather than relent"; and her Highness had then willed him to imprison them. "All these misdemeanors," he now complained to Cecil, "created him work and trouble enough. He had been talking with preachers and charging them to silence, and sitting in commission, and sending to prison; and this he had done all the week," — it was early in April, — "till he was fully tired. He marvelled that the burden of London — another man's charge — should be laid on his neck, as it was, by the remissness of the Bishop of London. But an ox," he added, "can draw no more than he can. I win only shame, vilely reported as I am." On the 28th of April, he had become discouraged. "To have the Order go forward, I utterly despair as of myself; and therefore must sit still, as I have now done, always waiting the Queen's Majesty's

[1] Strype's Parker, 215.

toleration, or else further aid. Mr. Secretary, can it be thought that I alone, having sun and moon against me, can compass this difficulty?" And hereupon he made stop of his proceedings.[1]

But what were the Puritan *laity* to do? Their ministers were silenced, their churches closed. They abhorred the Popish garments even more than did the clergy.[2] Some of them, indeed, went to the churches which were open, lingering at the doors until the prayer before the sermon. Some went nowhere, believing it wrong to countenance, by their presence, the use of the offensive garments and ceremonies. Others flocked after Father Coverdale, who now, for the people's need, preached the more constantly, — now here, now there, — and without the habits, being suffered to do so unmolested.[3] This they continued to do for seven or eight weeks after their ministers were suspended; coming to him every Saturday to inquire where he should preach the next day. But this gave offence, it being feared that disturbances would grow from the crowds which were drawn by a preacher so popular. He therefore told his friends, that he would no longer give them information of his preaching. He was willing to suffer; but wished no quarrel with his superiors. Sampson and Lever also, who both "preached in London, being dispensed with, though they wore not the habits," pursued the same prudential and inoffensive course. All these ministers found steadfast protectors in Leicester, Knollys, and Cecil, who

[1] Strype's Parker, 224–227; Grindal, 105. Neal, I. 102.

[2] Strype's Parker, 108.

[3] Strype's Parker, 241, 242; Grindal, 116.

were often thwarting the proceedings of the commissioners.[1]

The Puritans were baffled, — shut out by their consciences from worship as it was enjoined, and by the law from worship which they approved. Again the question arose, yet more seriously, What were they to do?

[1] Strype's Parker, 219, 241, 242; Grindal, 116. Neal, I. 103, 104. Brook, I. 25, 127.

# CHAPTER X.

## THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

LEICESTER'S POSITION AT COURT. — HIS WIFE MURDERED. — HIS "RELIGIOUS STYLE OR PHRASE" SHOWN IN HIS INTERVIEW WITH DR. CHADERTON. — WHITEHEAD AND THE BISHOP OF DURHAM INTERCEDE WITH HIM FOR TOLERATION, AND AGAINST COMPULSION. — SEPARATE WORSHIP IN PROSPECT. — LEICESTER AND LADY SHEFFIELD.

### 1566.

ROBERT DUDLEY, Earl of Leicester, was without a rival in the kingdom. Nature had endowed him nobly; — with a figure tall, stately, and of perfect proportions; with features of rare manly beauty; a forehead remarkable for its height and volume; and a countenance bearing a marvellous expression of sweetness.[1] Besides all this, he had the easy, graceful manners and winning speech of a finished courtier. By these advantages of person and address, rather than by his qualities of mind, he had won the admiration of the virgin queen, at his first introduction to her court, if not before.[2] She had at once avowed him as her principal favorite; and in a short time had elevated him to an earldom. Nor did he lack the advantages of wealth. The noble castle and manor of Kenilworth, and prodigious grants of estates and monopolies, were substantial tokens of his mistress's favor.[3] For a long time, he controlled,

[1] Naunton, in the Phœnix, I. 192. Echard, 804.

[2] Birch, I. 6. Lingard, VIII. 304.

[3] Sidney State Papers, I. 44, 45.

through his influence with her Majesty, all elections to offices of trust and to titles of honor. "The Court was at his devotion, and half the Council at his back."[1] Accordingly, he was courted by the rest of the nobility; and hundreds sought to secure his good-will and offices by lavish and costly gifts. Even Sir William Cecil, the queen's Secretary of State, her confidential counsellor,[2] the main stay of her policy, the chief pillar of her throne, as well as others whom she most esteemed and trusted, courted his favor, almost in terms of servility, because they would secure or retain hers.[3]

Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, an open-hearted, high-spirited soldier, could not brook the craft and counsels of Leicester;[4] and the two maintained an open quarrel at Court, and went about with their retainers armed, — in daily danger of bloody strife, — until her Majesty effected an outward reconciliation.[5] Sussex appears to have been the only one who dared to confront the favorite. The star of Leicester held the ascendant, and he came to be called "The Heart of the Court," — so well was it known that everything there was controlled by his influence, and must yield to his ambition, or policy.[6]

Yet even "my lord of Leicester was not absolute

[1] Lloyd, 519–521. Echard, 804.

[2] A biographer of Cecil, Lord Burleigh, who was an intimate in his family, says: "The Queen never resolving anie Cause of Estate without his Counsell; nor seldome passed anie private Suit, or Grant, from herself, that was not first referred to his Consideration; and had his Approbation before it passed." (Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. I. Ch. XI. p. 22.)

[3] See a remarkable letter of Cecil to Dudley, accompanying a new year's gift, in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Bk. IV. p. 50.

[4] Lodge, I. 368.

[5] Lloyd, 492. Camden, 79. Naunton in the Phœnix, I. 194.

[6] Lloyd, 519.

in her grace"; for though in her closet and at her Council-table none more persuasive than he, "she held a dormant table in her own princely breast," — particularly when first settling her government; and there were measures of policy which she considered essential to her supremacy, from which neither he, nor the combined Council, could move her.[1] With this exception, they often swayed, or tempered, or at least retarded, her severer resolutions which they liked not; and no one more or oftener than he. Their rule was — her will; and when they could not mould, they were fain to obey it. Thus, although they sometimes managed to annoy the ecclesiastical commissioners, it is by no means to be supposed that *all* their orders were approved by those who signed them.

We say Leicester had wondrous natural graces, personal accomplishments, honors, influence, wealth, — it was even wealth sufficient for his style of living, the magnificence of which was exceeded by few, if any, in the realm. Yet in this year 1566 no one in the splendid Court of Elizabeth was less to be envied than he. Not that he had begun to totter on his high station, or feel the capriciousness of royal humor. The queen still showed herself so amorous towards him, that at home and abroad strange things were said of them, — which we shall notice on a future page; things which she afterwards publicly declared to be "devilish libels, which none but a devil himself could dream to be true"; such things, that she might have seemed more womanly had she stood proudly and silently upon her womanhood, or even upon the legal fiction that "the Crown

[1] Naunton, 190.

covers all defects," than she did to add that, of her "own knowledge," *some* of them were false.[1]

The Lord Robert had cherished the thought which her Majesty's deportment had suggested. It had grown to a foul and ripe purpose against the confiding wife whom, in his eighteenth year, he had sworn to love and cherish. On the 8th of September, 1560, she had been murdered by his order.[2] At

[1] Desiderata Curiosa, Bk. IV. p. 46; Order of Council respecting the book called "Leicester's Commonwealth," and respecting "several libels published against the queen." Also Lingard, VIII. 306.

[2] Wood's Athenæ, I. 476.

Queen Elizabeth was born on the 7th of September, 1533. (Burnet, I. 212, 219. Hume, II. 352.) On the same day was born Robert Dudley, the third son of the Earl of Warwick, — afterwards the Earl of Northumberland. (Camden, 45. Sidney State Papers, I. 44.) On the 4th of June, 1550, — in accordance with his father's policy of early marriages for his children, — he was publicly married to Amy, daughter of Sir John Robsart. (King Edward's Journal, under that date.) At the time of his marriage, he was, therefore, nearly eighteen years of age.

As stated in the text, the murder of his wife was perpetrated on the night of the 8th of September, 1560, fifteen years *before* the queen's visit to Kenilworth castle, — which Sir Walter Scott, with very large poetic license, makes first in the order of time, — two years before that castle and manor were obtained by Dudley from the queen, and less than two years after her accession to the throne.

When he had fully resolved upon his crime, — to which he had been craftily stimulated by Sir Richard Varney, — Dudley persuaded his wife, upon some plausible pretexts, to repose for a while at the manor-house of Cumnor, in Berkshire, then occupied by his steward, Anthony Forster. She soon perceived that she was in custody, and saw shadowy and fitful signs of her doom. A prisoner and in the power of ruffians, it may be imagined what hourly torments she must have suffered, when the sound of a footfall, or the moaning of the wind, must have roused her nervous apprehension. Add to this the conviction of her husband's perfidy and hatred, and we have the ingredients of her cup.

Varney was the superintendent and master-spirit of the plot. Following his lord's instructions, he sought to take her off by poison; a mode of execution to which Dudley became addicted. (Strype's Grindal, 225. Naunton, in the Phœnix, I. 193.) These attempts were baffled by the unhappy lady's watchful apprehensions. The villains who had her in charge then sent for Dr. Walter Bailey, Profes-

the time of his interview with Coverdale and Whitehead, ten months before this deed, he had begun the foolish attempt to delude his conscience by a show of religious zeal; and after the deed, it was only by "carrying his pretences to piety very high," and by

sor of Physic at Oxford, assuring him that her ladyship was laboring under some subtle malady which produced a strange depression of spirits; and requesting him to advise her to some potion which *they* would bring from Oxford, — designing to substitute their own. But the physician became aware of their purpose, — partly through their mysserious behavior, and partly perhaps through some significant hint from the patient. He refused; and went away with the conviction that she would soon fall a victim to her keepers. For this, Dudley vowed vengeance, which the Doctor narrowly escaped. The impatient husband next ordered her to be despatched by brute force. The more plausibly to accomplish this, she was assigned to another apartment, in which was a private postern-door, close by the bed's head, opening upon a dangerous staircase. When the time arrived for the execution, the servants of the household were ordered away to a place three miles distant; Varney retaining one of his own men and Forster to do the work. During the night, they stifled or strangled their victim, broke her neck, mangled her head, and flung her down the stairway, that her death might seem to have been accidental; and it was so given out by Varney and his accomplices. Yet the fall, to which were attributed the bruising of her head and the breaking of her neck, did not hurt the hood found upon her corpse!

The circumstances of this lady's death were so strange, and so strongly indicative of malicious violence, that suspicion, which amounted almost to conviction, was instantly aroused in the minds of the country people. So strong and lively was this impression, "that the chaplain, in her funeral sermon at Oxford, meaning to say, 'this poor lady so pitifully killed,' stumbled on the unhappy phrase, 'so pitifully murdered'; which made a strange impression upon the hearers." (Osborne, 87, note.)

The report of this strange death of the wife of the man who, as all believed, aspired to the royal hand, and of whom all thought the queen enamored, spread far and near; and the unfortunate chaplain's words were adopted by all but her Majesty. They were not only current in England, but maliciously so in the French court. (Hardwicke Papers, I. 121; Throckmorton to Cecil.) At home, there was "such a muttering of the death," that Thomas Lever, a Puritan clergyman of sufficient character and influence to have dissuaded the queen from assuming the title of Supreme Head, (Brook, I. 219,) felt constrained, before the month of September had passed, to write the following letter: —

intoxicating dalliance with his royal mistress, that he could maintain the port of an honest man, or stifle the voice within. The queen had received his wooings well; and, almost immediately after the murder of Amy, had stimulated him with the hope,

"The Grace of God be unto your honors, with my humble commendations and hearty thanks in Christ; for that it hath pleased God to place you in authority with wisdom and wills to advance his glory, the Queen's Majesty's godly honor, and the peaceable wealth of this realm; and that also I am well assured of your favorable minds towards me, to take in writing according to my meaning, faithfully, reverently, and lovingly: Therefore am I moved and boldened by writing to signify unto you, that here in these parts seemeth unto me to be a grievous and dangerous suspicion and muttering of the death of her which was the wife of my Lord Robert Dudley. And now my desire and trust is, that the rather by your godly, discreet device and diligence, through the Queen's Majesty's authority, earnest searching and trying out of the truth, with due punishment if any be found guilty in this matter, may be openly known. For if no search nor inquire be made and known, the displeasure of God, the dishonor of the queen, and the danger of the whole realm, is to be feared; and by due inquiry, and justice openly known, surely God shall be well pleased, and served, the Queen's Majesty worthily commended, and her loving subjects comfortably quieted. The Lord God guide you by his grace, in this and all other your godly travails, as he knoweth to be most expedient in Christ. Scriblet at Coventre, the 17th of September, by your faithfully in Christ, THOMAS LEVER.

"Unto the right honorable Sir Francis Knoils and Sir William Cecil, Knights, and to either of them be these dd." (Haynes, 362.)

One objection made by Cecil, six years afterwards, to the marriage of the queen and Leicester was, "that he is infamed by the death of his wife" (Haynes, 444); and a note of his printed in the first volume of the Hatfield Papers takes notice of it as affording *just* ground for scandal. (Hardwicke Papers, I. 122, note.)

Aubrey states, that the Lady Amy "was buried in great haste, *before* an inquest was held." It would seem, however, that Lever's letter availed to an inquest *after*, — probably a superficial one, conducted under Leicester's influence. So I judge, from the following testimony. In November, when Jones held his private interview with the queen, — mentioned in note 3, on the following page, — she told him that the matter of the Lady Amy's death "*had been tried* in the country, and been found to be contrary to that which was reported"; adding, "that the Lord Robert was at court at the time, and none of his at the attempt [*sic*] at his wife's house,

if not with the promise, of marriage;[1] had admitted him to disreputable intimacy within her own palace;[2] and afterwards created him Earl of Leicester. This last distinction was professedly conferred on purpose to qualify him for marriage with Mary of Scotland; but, as every one believed, for marriage with herself.[3]

and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her honor." (Hardwicke Papers, I.165; Jones to Throckmorton.)

"Amy Robsart, the first wife of Robert, Earl of Leicester, was *first* buried in Cumnor church; was *taken up and reburied* in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, at Oxford." (Wood's Athenæ, I. 476.) It must have been at this second solemnity that the chaplain's blunder occurred.

Except where I have given other references, the particulars of this note are gathered from the statement of John Aubrey, Esq., as given in the Biographia Britannica, Article "Robert Dudley," note D. The inquisitive reader will find the statements of "Leicester's Commonwealth," respecting this affair, in the Harleian Miscellany, IV. 547–554, and in Osborne's Traditional Memoirs, p. 87.

[1] Lingard, VIII. 39, note; 305, note.

[2] Ibid., 425, note.

[3] On the 11th of January, 1558–9, the queen made the Lord Robert Dudley her Master of Horse; on the 4th of June, 1559, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter; on the 28th of September, 1564, Baron of Denbigh; and on the 29th, Earl of Leicester. (Sidney, State Papers, I. 44, 45. Birch, I. 6. Cecil's Journal, in Murdin, 756.)

Her deportment towards him was of such a nature as to excite a general expectation of their marriage. On the 28th of October, 1560, Throckmorton wrote from Paris in a fever of apprehension, "conjuring" Cecil, for the honor of their country, their queen, and their religion, to do all in his power to hinder that marriage." (Hardwicke Papers, I. 121.) And again, on the 17th of November: "They take it for truth and certain," — at the French court, — "that her Majesty will marry the Lord Robert Dudley." (Ibid. 145, 146.) So seriously did he regard this matter, and so well founded did he consider "the brim bruits touching this marriage," that he despatched his Secretary, R. J. Jones, from the Court of France to the Court at Greenwich, to remonstrate with her Majesty herself upon the subject. In the latter part of November, Jones wrote to Throckmorton, that "it was the general expectation at court that my Lord Robert shall run away with the hare and have the queen"; that on the 27th he had spoken with her Majesty, who received his words with maiden embarrassment, sometimes laughing, sometimes turning herself aside and covering her face with her hands. She confessed, however, that she knew of the reports, and said nothing to imply that

She maintained the same dalliance with him still; and he, the same "inclination to further God's cause."[1]

About the middle of June, 1566, the queen, wearied by military displays, bull-baitings, and bear-baitings,

they were not justifiable. The Secretary added, that since this interview, her Majesty had evidently been troubled and perplexed upon the subject; and that there seemed less prospect of the marriage taking place, although her favors to the Lord Robert had not abated. (Ibid., 165 – 168.)

In May next, Cecil wrote to Throckmorton, "that he could see no certain disposition in her Majesty to *any* marriage," (Ibid., 172,) and again in June, 1565, to Sir Thomas Smith, "that Leicester surely perceived his own cause" — as the queen's suitor — "not sperable" (Ellis, 2d Series, II. 297); and yet again to Smith, in October, 1565: "To tell you truly, I think the Queen's Majesty's favor to my Lord of Leicester be not so manifest as it was to move men to think that she will marry with him; and yet his Lordship *hath favor sufficient, as I hear him say, to his good satisfaction.*" (Wright, I. 209.) Notwithstanding her fluctuating humors, her Majesty's partiality to the Earl continued to be such and so marked, that in April, 1566, we find Cecil occupied in drawing up *formal reasons against* their marriage. (Haynes, 444.)

Thus it will be perceived that, at the time of the occurrences mentioned in the text, Leicester still cherished hope of wedding his royal mistress. Lingard says that he did not abandon it until 1568. (VIII. 39, note.)

Nor were these expectations, which extended beyond the precincts of the Court, (Haynes, 364, 365,) grounded only upon the jealousies of courtiers, or upon her Majesty's amorous familiarities and other demonstrations. She seems to have had a real womanly attachment for this "terrestrial Lucifer." (Osborne, 42.) She avowed it. She did so in a letter which Cecil wrote under her dictation. (Haynes, 420.) She did so with her own lips to Sir James Melvil. In each case, however, she declared, that for his admirable qualities she loved him "as her brother and best friend"; yet to Melvil adding, that "she herself would have married him, had she ever minded to have taken a husband." (Melvil's Memoirs, 93.) She even affected a passionate attachment to the Earl's picture." (Ibid., 97.) These declarations may, to be sure, be charged to the score of political chicane; and in part, undoubtedly, they should be. The following paper, however, has another complexion. It is an acknowledgment

[1] Strype's Parker, Appendix, XXV. p. 40.

had removed her court from Whitehall to Greenwich; and after dinner on the next day had sought repose in her private apartment. Her courtiers, thus relieved from ceremonious attendance, sought recreation, — each one as suited his humor. The Earl of Leicester, always as much distinguished for the splen-

of a splendid reception given to the favorite by the Earl of Shrewsbury and his Countess; was "in her owne blessyd hand writing," (Lodge, II. 156, Shrewsbury to the Queen,) and is dated, it should be observed, in 1577.

"Elizabeth: Our very good cousin. Being given to understand from our cousin of Leicester, how honorably he was ..... lately received by you our cousin and the Countess, ..... we should do him great wrong (holding him in that place of favor we do) in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him, but unto our own self: *reputing him as another ourself.* And therefore you may assure yourself, that we, taking upon us the debt, not as his, but our own, will take care accordingly to discharge in such honorable sort, as so well deserving creditors as ye are shall never have cause to think ye have met with an unthankful debtor..... Whereof ye may make full account to your comfort when time shall serve. Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the 25th day of June, 1577, and in the 19th year of our reign." (Lodge, II. 155. Strype's Annals, IV. 137.)

It is true that Elizabeth offered Leicester in marriage to Mary, Queen of Scots; urged it; professed to have raised him to the rank of an Earl for that purpose (Melvil, 79, 83, 93–95); and even sent commissioners to Berwick to treat upon it. (Strype's Annals, II. 120. Ellis, 2d Series, II. 294. Wright, I. 183.) All this would seem to indicate that she had no such affection for him that she could not easily spare him for another. But these commissioners made "slenderer offers and less effectual dealing than was expected"; insomuch that the Scotch deputation "writ to know *whether the queen of England meant it truly or no.*" When Elizabeth "began to suspect that the marriage might take effect, her apprehensions occasioned the Lord Darnley's getting more ready license to come to Scotland, that he, being a handsome, lusty youth, should rather prevail, being present, than Leicester who was absent"; it being only designed "with such shifts to hold Queen Mary unmarried," and also firmly believed "that Lord Darnley *durst* not proceed in the marriage without consent of the queen of England." (Melvil, 104, 105. Strype's Annals, II. 120.)

Cecil wrote to Smith, October 4, 1564: "My Lord Robert is made Earl of Leicester, and his preferment in Scotland is earnestly intended." (Wright, I. 177.) But

dor of his apparel as for the manly beauty of his person, was sauntering on a retired walk of the royal garden, with but a single companion, whose sober academical dress was in striking contrast with his own. This was William Chaderton, "a learned and grave doctor, though for his gravity he could lay it aside, when it pleased him, even in the pulpit."[1] He was the Earl's "loving chaplain"; soon afterwards, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and Master of Queen's College; and finally Bishop of Chester.

"Nay, nay, reverend friend," said Leicester in

on the 30th of December, he wrote to him again: "But to say the truth of my knowledge in these fickle matters, I can affirm nothing that I can assure to continue. I see the Queen's Majesty very desirous to have my Lord of Leicester placed in this high degree to be the Scottish queen's husband, but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestness." (Ibid., 183.) "Camden relates, that Leicester's advancement to this high dignity" — of an earldom — "was thought by some the better to qualify him for marriage with the Queen of Scots, though others suspected that this show of Queen Elizabeth was merely to try if the motion would be accepted, and then to marry with him herself with the less dishonor." (Sidney State Papers, I. 44.) Elizabeth was always playing a diplomatic game with Mary while the latter was upon her throne. That she was doing so in this case was evident to many, and supposed by Mary herself. (Lingard, VII. 331 and note.)

That Elizabeth's attachment to Leicester was real, and *of such a nature* that she could not brook the idea of his being married to *any* other woman, is sufficiently evident, not indeed from the mere fact that she was in a towering passion when she afterwards discovered his marriage, but from her intense and unconquerable aversion to his wife; for which there was no other reason except that she was his wife. Upon this point, I must refer the reader to the Sidney Papers, Vol. II. 93; Birch's Elizabeth, II. 380; and Lingard, VIII. 139 and note.

Whether her Majesty ever had any serious purpose to *wed* Leicester, is a question which may be kept in mind when we consider — as we shall have occasion to do — the probable reason of her celibacy.

[1] Peck's Desid. Cur., Preface, p. v. Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church, in Nugæ Antiquæ, II. 113.

reply to a significant allusion to the queen; "God knoweth, sith it hath pleased him to bereave me of my wife, the current of my love tendeth not even to a matchless queen; but rather upward. Nevertheless, being bound in all things by my allegiance, I should proudly obey, if she command me to be her husband. The Lord hath moved her to honor me without stint, and what she hath already bestowed contenteth me. I have no ambition for a royal couch. My heart, good Doctor, is in the grave," — and the noble widower sighed.

"May God turn thine heart's sorrow to thy soul's good, my lord," answered the honest-minded Doctor, devoutly. "But — ahem! My lord, I pretend to no science in such matters. I dare say there be something wondrous touching about women to him who hath a calling to be touched. Yet, my faith! their witchery passeth my poor comprehension. Might I advise, my lord?"

"It belongeth to thine office, kind sir; and is a boon due thy patron."

"Then would I counsel thee eschew all likeness of wooing the Queen's Highness. For the good of the realm, I would with all my heart she were wedded; that so we might have seed royal, and no more ado about the succession. But as thy well-wisher, I would not have thee imperilled by the sex; and the more because of her who hath gone to heaven. They be a dangerous species, my lord. No good ever came of them yet, save now and then, when God by way of miracle hath made one a vessel unto honor, — of whom, I doubt not, was the Lady Amy. Like mother, like daughter. Eve will be Eve, though

Adam would say nay.[1] And then — poor Adam! Venture not, my lord, but upon compulsion."

"Saith not St. Paul somewhat the like?"

"Certes, my lord! and wisely. He saith: I say to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I. Let every man abide in the same calling wherewith he is called. And more he saith of the same."

"Troth! it be a good doctrine, my loving sir. For the matter I must say, however, that as it is lawful, so it is convenient for such as cannot otherwise contain. But I, having no such calling of convenience or inclination, will e'en abide in my calling, saving always that my liege lady hath, perchance, a calling to call me from my calling. With me, woman hath no more power, save to command my knightly courtesy and protection. Howbeit, good sir, I think thee somewhat inclining to severity in thy judgment of *the species*, as thou callest them."

"Not a whit! not a whit! my lord. Every rare one among them, who is not a mischief-maker with the men, is a living miracle, — nor more, nor less. What saith John Aylmer, whilom Archdeacon of Stow and tutor to Lady Jane Grey,[2] and even by our gracious queen — for the book he hath writ against the Blast blown about the government of women — counted a man of parts?"

"Nay, Doctor, I wist not."

"Verily he giveth large dose of flattery[3]; but withal to sugar his drugs. He saith, — for so godly a truth I remember well, — "*Some* women be wiser,

[1] Harrison in Holingshed, I. p. 234.

[2] McCrie, 144.

[3] Ibid., 146.

better learned, discreeter, constanter, than a number of men; but the *most* part be fond, foolish, wanton, flibbergibs, tatlers, trifling, wavering, witless, without counsel, feeble, careless, rash, proud, dainty, nice, tale-bearers, eaves-droppers, rumor-raisers, evil-tongued, worse-minded, and, in every wise, doltified with the dregs of the Devil's dunghill!' There is a picture of woman for ye, my lord. Howbeit, he doth carefully except, as miracles of grace, her Majesty and ladies of rank."[1]

"Hoot-toot, Doctor! Doth he say that, and her Majesty not mislike the ruffian! But it now mindeth me of a like morsel which I have heard thyself did utter in some godly sermon of thine. Prithee, what was it?"

"Troth! her Majesty liketh mightily the man who coucheth a lance at John Knox. She will make him a bishop yet. But nay, my lord, the sermon thou wottest of — which was preached years agone in my youth — can have no compare with the words of Aylmer. I did but say, that the choice of a wife is full of hazard; not unlike as if one, in a barrel full of serpents, should grope for one fish. If he scape harm of the snakes and light on the fish, he may be thought fortunate. Yet let him not boast, for perhaps it may prove but an eel."[2]

Leicester stopped short in his walk, drew his majestic figure to its full height, and fixed his piercing dark eye upon Chaderton. "A thought, Doctor! a thought!"

"A choice one, I doubt not, my lord, — an it be thine own."

[1] Strype's Aylmer, 276.

[2] Nugæ Antiquæ, II. 114. Desid. Curiosa, Preface, p. v.

"Mine own; and choice. Wilt treasure it?"

"For thy sake, its own, and mine."

"I did say just now, that as for the matter of marriage, as it is lawful, so it is convenient for such as cannot contain. I now say that the gift or disposition of marriage thou canst best judge of in thyself, it being His ordinance that frameth the hearts of all creatures according to his divine pleasure; to whose providence we must all submit ourselves, and in whose fear I doubt not but you have only disposed your mind in the matter of celibacy. Yet mark my words, most loving chaplain mine, most reverend woman-hater! Thou wilt be after the fish, anon, thyself."

"Pshaw!" retorted the chaplain, with an air of scorn which few men would have dared to assume with Leicester.

"Dost pshaw me, man! Yet didst just promise to treasure my thought for its choiceness, for my sake, and — ha! ha! — for *thine own!* Keep thy promise, good sir. An Doctor Chaderton *do* fall in love, his friend and master, Robert Leicester, will pity him; and, out of his own experience, will help him. When thou art right eager for the fish, wilt tell me?"

The Doctor was nettled by what he considered a doubt of his manliness and stability; but, with as good a grace as possible, he gave the pledge. Just three years afterwards, he redeemed it! Whereupon the Earl replied, "lovingly" and graciously approving that he should follow his *new* "calling," — which he did.[1]

[1] Desid. Curiosa, I. Bk. III. No. III. p. 3.

To soothe his chaplain's irritation, Leicester now spake of affairs at Cambridge, where the Doctor resided, and was gratified to learn that the ill-will which had existed there toward the ecclesiastical habits was by no means abated; for though himself a Churchman, it was his private policy, not only to mar the revenues of the bishops, but to perplex their discipline and stint their power by encouraging and protecting the Puritans. Thus, as his religious zeal always served his temporal interests, and often thwarted the prelates, they never considered him a friend and well-wisher of the Establishment.[1]

Turning an angle in their path around an ornamental copse, the Earl and his chaplain suddenly confronted Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, and Mr. Whitehead; each of whom saluted his Lordship with an eagerness which betrayed that they were in search of him. Whereupon Dr. Chaderton took his leave.

"Fare thee well, good friend," said the Earl, cordially, and with that winning complaisance which, at this stage of his history, usually marked his demeanor towards his dependents and inferiors,—"fare thee well at Cambridge. You have matters there worthy of well handling; and such handling on your part I doubt not of, through God's assistance, by your study, diligence, and deeds. The holiness ascribed to Antichrist, instead of Christ, I trust shall appear; and the pride of man's own virtue and deserts shall be truly known, where his trust ought to be, and whence all his goodness proceedeth. God send you his Spirit to wade in your affairs so zealously and truly as may set forth his glory, and make manifest

[1] Biographia Britannica.

the errors remaining among men. I bid you farewell, with my hearty commendation."[1]

"Odds my life, reverend sirs!" turning to the others with a playful affectation of alarm, "methinks I might not forfeit my golden spurs for cowardice, but only be chargeable with a wholesome discreetness, an I took to my heels. What is Robert Leicester, without esquire, page, or harness, *vis à vis* with two sons of Anak, knights of the most holy order of Geneva, — and they looking wondrously inclined to run a tilt upon my poor body! Luckily I do bethink me the weapons of your warfare be not carnal. Moreover, ye cannot have heart of evil toward a friend."

"My lord," answered Pilkington, gravely, "we are suitors."

"Ma foi! plaintiff and defendant? Leicester is no judge."

"Nay, good my lord, we be agreed."

"Now Heaven forefend! It must be some matter ecclesiastic. Yet here is my Lord of Durham,

[1] In the text, the obscurity of Leicester's language is his own, not mine. In quoting his words in this dialogue, I confess to an anachronism of three years, as may be seen by Vol. I. Bk. III. p. 3 of Peck's Desiderata Curiosa. I have allowed myself in this, for the convenience of here bringing to view the arrant sanctimoniousness of the man whom Sir Robert Naunton, "well acquainted with the affairs of that day," compares to the most infamous characters in history. I quote from his Fragmenta Regalia. Speaking particularly of Leicester's writings: "I never yet saw a style or phrase more seemingly religious, and fuller of the strains of devotion; and were they not sincere, I doubt much of his well-being: and I may fear he was too well seen in the aphorisms of *Nicholas the Florentine* and in the reaches of *Cæsar Borgia*." The same affectation of godliness appears remarkably even in his last will and testament, in which he cloaks with religious phrase the most infamous libel which ever a father indited against a lawfully begotten son. See Biographia Britannica, and Lodge, I. 308.

who mindeth Mother Church, and the very reverend Master Whitehead, who mindeth her not, but saith, when she telleth him to cap it and cope it or stop preaching, that he will neither cap, cope, nor stop. Gramercy! how can two such be agreed?"

"We pray you, my lord," said Whitehead, evading Leicester's vein of humor, "intercede with her Majesty to bear more gently in the matters of which you speak. This is our suit; and though we differ in our behavior to the outer laws of the Church, we agree in our mislike of them."

"Herein, of a surety, appeareth a greater marvel still," replied the Earl, persisting in his bantering, "that Master Whitehead, whom her Majesty so esteemeth that she would have made him Primate of her Church, — Master Whitehead whom she honoreth in presence of her lords and ladies with 'I like thee, Whitehead, and I like thee the better because thou livest unmarried,' — this same pet of her Highness cometh to simple Robert Leicester, saying, 'I pray thee, pray *for* me!' Troth! this be a marvellous marvel, when thou wouldest be thine own best pleader!"

"Not so, my lord. My heart misgiveth me lest I did spoil my small favor with her Highness by a bluntness of answer misbecoming a Court."

"Ha! ha! Thou didst tell her, 'Go, get married'? Thou mightest as well have said, 'Go, hang.'"

"Nay, nay, my lord; do not magnify my rudeness. I did but say, 'In troth, madam, I like thee worse, for the same cause.'[1] My lord, I pray thee hear us."

[1] Fuller's Worthies, II. 19.

"So be it. A truce with nonsense. What would ye? It is in vain, — so I did tell thee and Father Coverdale before, Master Whitehead, — it is in vain to parley with her Majesty of that she hath once ordained. *Semper eadem! Semper eadem!* I told ye then, — I tell thee now. Moreover, to retract from her ordaining were to detract from her supremacy. See ye not, good sirs, an her Majesty undoeth, to please the whims of her subjects, what she hath done in matters of which, as she saith, 'God hath made *her* the overseer,' she doth, by so undoing, admit the subject to meddle with, and share, her supremacy? The surplice, she reasoneth, is the Act of Uniformity and the Act of Supremacy woven, — the one the warp, the other the woof. Touching it, therefore, is touching the apple of her eye."

"My lord," said Pilkington, "an it be so, and the matter be hopeless, God help us! But, by your leave, I will e'en hazard the reminding you of somewhat I writ your lordship when the pressing of uniformity was first on foot. Of your lordship's inclination to further God's cause, — as I said to you then, so say I now, — no man doubts. But consider, I pray, that as we have a diverse show of apparel that the clergy be known from the common people, which be meet enough I trow, so it is necessary in apparel that a Protestant be known from a Papist. Nay, so much the more. If we forsake Popery as wicked, how shall we say its apparel becometh the professors of true holiness? How Popish apparel should set forward the Gospel of Christ Jesus; or how Christian peace is to be kept when so many for so small things shall be thrust from their ministry

and livings; or how the Church shall be built up, when, by insisting upon these small things, so many worthy be cast from their ministry, and so many places be left destitute of preachers,—it passeth my simple wit to conceive. Besides, while Christian liberty, by *enforcement* of the same things, is turned into necessity, it is evil, and no longer liberty."[1]

"Hold! my lord bishop," exclaimed Leicester, impetuously. "This new doctrine, that as governess of the Church she may not prescribe regulations upon compulsion, hath come to her Majesty's ear; and she sweareth with her big oath, 'By God's wounds! it is seditious!' Pity it hath ever been said."[2]

"To her Majesty I can make no gainsaying; though in sadness I submit. Yet bear with me, my lord, a little further in that for which for the most part we have sought your lordship. This compulsion —this cutting compulsion—is like an iron entering the soul. It is an omen of yet greater troubles; for the question is now tossed about, whether they whom her Majesty seeketh to compel against their conscience, shall not leave the communion of the Church, like as we, the communion of Rome, and make separate Church of themselves."

"Zounds! Et tu, Brute! Et tu!" said Leicester, addressing each in turn.

"Nay, not me, my lord," said the Bishop, with strong emotion.

"Nor me, my lord," said Whitehead. "We do spurn all thought of such separation, by ourselves or

[1] Strype's Parker, Append. XXV. [2] Hallam, 109, 110. *passim.*

by others. Therefore we have come to advise your lordship betimes what evil impendeth; that so you may contrive plea or persuasion with her Majesty, that she haply soften her severity, and relent of her *compulsion*. My lord, we have prayed our prayer. God give you wisdom and success with her Majesty, that our Church be not broken in pieces."

A few moments Leicester was occupied in grave and silent thought, and then inquired earnestly, "This jack-o'-the-lantern notion of *imperium in imperio* — for so will her Majesty construe *ecclesia in ecclesiâ*,—prithee, Master Whitehead, how far spreadeth it?"

"I wot not, good my lord. But some are made to waver from the scheme of separating, by letters writ of late by divines in Germany, about the lawfulness of wearing the habits."

"Then the fancy may die away."

"I fear not," said Pilkington, "while her Majesty compelleth conscience."

"I have myself heard her Majesty declare," replied Leicester with some spirit, "that she will make no inquisition of men's consciences in matters of religion." [1]

"Whether she will make *inquisition* of conscience, or no, God only knoweth, my lord. Albeit, she maketh *compulsion* thereof."

"Witness, the man at thine elbow, my Lord Bishop," — and the Earl pointed at Whitehead with an exultant smile, — "and the grievous compulsion of *his* conscience."

"Nay, my lord," replied Whitehead, "witness

[1] Strype's Annals, II. 371.

rather the hundreds through the realm who are silenced and beggared. I go unmolested, only of grace."

"And celibacy," added Leicester, with a laugh. Then, changing his tone and look to seriousness, "Hark ye, good sirs! Her Majesty is somewhat testy betimes. She is already provoked by the books which you schismatics have —"

"Hold, my lord!" "My lord, I protest!" cried the divines in a breath.

Leicester smiled, and coolly asked, "What now?"

"We be no schismatics, my lord," replied Pilkington. "Call us Puritans if you will, though it be 'a dark phrase.'[1] In privy judgment, I am one of those so called, and without shame therefor; although, like my Lord of London, I conform. Master Whitehead too is a Puritan; but being full-blown, unlike his lordship and myself, he doth not conform. But all of us *abhor*[2] separation from the Church."

"Prithee! what *are* these men who talk of setting up a new worship?"

"Puritans, my lord; but something more. Call them Separatists."

"A fig for names! *Some* bodies have been scattering up and down, to the hands of all the people, certain books against the habits.[3] These books be an offence to her Majesty; and even now she calleth for a decree from the Star-Chamber to end them; and, however the Council may mislike it for its severity, her Majesty must be obeyed. If now she be

[1] Sampson to Grindal; Strype's Parker, Append. p. 179.

[2] Strype's Parker, 220; Annals, II. 162–170.

[3] Hanbury, I. 45, 62–70 *passim*.

further provoked by so unheard of a thing as the setting up of a Church other than that which acknowledgeth her as its Supreme Mistress, I wot not what terrible thing she may do. I counsel, therefore, that ye warn these would-be runaways. The queen will count them traitors, mayhap."

"We will, my lord," answered the bishop; "yet methinks the properer and simpler remedy lieth with her Majesty."

"I repeat it, my Lord Bishop," said Leicester, "it is written as with a pen of iron, or the point of a diamond, — *Semper eadem! Semper eadem!* The only remedy is conformity. It grieveth me; but I will not hide the truth."

"My lord! the non-conforming Puritans are in great straits. It is not disloyalty, nor lawlessness, nor mulishness, nor recklessness, nor superstitious preciseness, nor over-much righteousness; it is only distress for lack of a worship without the gear of Antichrist, which makes them talk of separation. Printing giveth vent to their distress. Stop it, and I fear the vessel will burst. That will be schism."

"Ah! say you so?"

"Marry! in all sorrow and honesty."

Leicester mused a moment, and then said, "Reverend masters! I heartily thank you for your advertisements. I shall weigh them as their gravity doth merit. The conscience of the godly hath my respect; their grief, my sympathy; their weakness, my prayers; their need, — when service be possible, — my service. Count ye upon this, good sirs. In return, commend me to God, that he would count me worthy to serve him in serving his. The time

requireth his helping grace, as well as our faithfulness. My duties press me now, and I must break from you. God speed us by his Spirit! adieu!"

The two divines looked upon his stately form with admiration until concealed by the intricacies of the garden, when Pilkington broke silence. "Of a truth, the Lord hath exalted that man for some good purpose! What godly thoughtfulness for religion!" Master Whitehead making no reply, he added, "Say you not so, good sir?"

"Which?" asked the other, moodily.

"Both."

"Exalted for *some* good purpose, I doubt not."

"And —" said the Bishop, making a bridge to the other part of the answer.

"H—m—m! The Lord seeth the heart. What think you, my lord, of the rumors of — of —? You understand."

"Scandal! base! baseless!"

The Earl moved rapidly away, turning down a path which soon terminated upon a retired and wooded portion of the grounds. At this point, he encountered a lounging yeoman of the guard, who sprang to his feet as if detected in a fault, and rendered the customary mute salutation of reverence.

"Ha, Anthony! true as steel!"

The man bowed, with a look upon his face which said that he knew it, and was proud of it.

"Have they passed?" continued Leicester, stopping short.

"Half an hour agone, my lord; and more."

"It is well. Let no one else. Mark me, — *no* one"; — and he strode on.

A little way within upon the unbroken greensward, the copse grew more dense, and the fragrance of forest-flowers filled the air. The Earl soon came to a deeper shade, fronting a cliff of about a rood's height. Its face was spotted with moss; the wild honeysuckle clung in its seams; and over its brow fell a rill of pure water, dancing its way, to its own soft music, down to the turf below. As Leicester turned the flank of the rock there stood before him, in a quiet nook, a beautiful rustic bower, — known as the "Close Arbor," — densely covered with vines, among which were the eglantine and woodbine in profusion. He removed — of necessity — his plumed cap, and stood within the threshold, his dark, wavy hair clustering over his classic brow and flushed cheeks. Two gentlemen of the Court stood at the other extremity, — Sir John Hubbard and George Digby, — whose profound courtesies Leicester acknowledged by a slight inclination, while he glanced around with a nervous look of inquiry and surprise.

"Eh, sirs! — alone?" with a curt intonation and a slight frown.

He was answered by a sob from the shaded recess by his side, where crouched a woman, who rose as he turned his head toward her, took a single step, and paused. She was rather tall for her sex, of a full, round, graceful figure, young, her features of great beauty, and with a soft blue eye, not expressive of strong purpose and character, but of timidity and languid tenderness to a rare degree. Her disordered hair, her pallid face, her lips compressed, yet quivering as if to suppress emotion, seemed in painful

mockery of her splendid Court costume. Her form drawn to its full height, her attitude resolute, her look earnest, made her seem in the slightest possible degree defiant; but as she took another step she became in every shade a woman, — a suffering, loving woman. Leicester was evidently surprised, not at her presence, but at her appearance.

"Lady!" said he, extending his hand.

"My lord!" she murmured; but instead of taking his, she laid her own fair hands upon his shoulder, bowed her head upon them, and burst into tears.

"Tush! hush!" said Leicester, drawing her gently to his breast; "this is womanly weakness. Prithee! cease."

After waiting until her agitation began to abate, he added, "An thou likest not my presence, I will leave thee to thine attendants," — and he made a movement as if to detach her from his person. But she clung to him; and with a strong effort at self-control looked up, not at him, but at them. They understood her, and left the arbor, bowing in assent as Leicester bade them remain within call.

"I came for smiles, lady, and thou givest me tears; for the music of thy soft words, and thou givest me sobs. I came thinking thou didst pine for my love, and thou behavest as might become my obsequies. But Leicester is not dead; and there be other women would be proud to take thy place."

The Lady Douglass Howard — Baroness Dowager of John Lord Sheffield — pressed her hands convulsively upon her bosom, and gasped as if her heart had been stung. It had.

"Womanly weakness!" she whispered, turning her

eyes, now dry and burning, upon his. "Other women! O Dudley, Dudley!"

"Ma foi! Thou gleanest up my words like pearls!"

"Do not mock me, Dudley! Thou hast wooed and won and bought me. Do not mock me!"

The sardonic sneer upon his face vanished. A single convulsion flitted in its place; a wild look flashed from his eye; and he muttered, "*Bought!* — Damnation!"

The Lady Sheffield was frighted at his strange look and words; but the next moment he was himself again, and she resumed, "I am thine, Dudley, soul and body. Be mine."

"Beshrew me! am I not? We twain have been one flesh these two years, well-nigh. Art mad?"

"I think I am sometimes, my lord. But not now, — not now."

"Zounds, woman! I did fancy this meeting was for the sipping of stolen waters as aforetime," exclaimed Leicester, fiercely. "But I find I am befooled! served with a torrent of tears and nonsense."

"*Own* me, my lord!" and she sank upon her knees. "Own me thy true and lawful wife. God knoweth it be my due!"

"Croaking the old prayer! By the rood! 't is a dull and bootless one."

"My son, — my son, — *our* son, Dudley! If not for my sake, for his!" and she stretched her clasped hands towards him in an agony of supplication.

"By my troth, lady! thou *art* eloquent. Albeit, a shade more tragic than befitteth the occasion. Thou lovest him?"

"Good God! what a question!"

"Thou dost, hey? I think I do myself. It be a right proper boy. Be at ease, lady; he shall be cared for."

"Own me thy lawful wife, and him thy lawful son,—and I die content."

"Don't, lady! We can have store of love yet. We 're not aged. Touching thy prayer, however, it comporteth not with my convenience. My answer in one word, *Never!*"

"My lord!" and the Lady Douglass rose with an eye flashing as Leicester had never seen it, and as nothing but the writhings of maternal instinct could have made it flash,—"My lord, I kneel to thee no more."

"A right sensible conclusion."

"I appeal to Cæsar!"

"Ha!"

"My lord! there were witnesses. It will not be alone that I bespeak her Majesty. The Duke of Norfolk, and the others, I will *force* to speak."

"Ay, and damn thine own soul. Remember thine oath!"

The lady sank upon the ground, and covered her face in her gorgeous robe.

"So ho! Thou dost not relish perjury?"

The poor mother moaned and shuddered, as though wrestling with the king of terrors.

"Come to thy senses, my lady-love; come to thy senses. Sith thou canst not mend thy case, mar it not. There be pleasure in life's cup yet."

The Lady Douglass was once more on her feet. Her face pale as marble, her eyes blazing like her jewels, her bosom heaving with frenzied passion,

she looked wildly upward, and panted forth: "Be it so! Perjury then! To save my son from the blot of baseness, I damn mine oath, and damn my soul!"

Leicester stood a moment in amazement. He had not dreamed her equal to a resolve so terrible. He had not seen before a mother at bay over her first-born son. He began to study the scene. It was exciting, — amusing.

"What a difference in souls!" coolly; as if soliloquizing a calculation in arithmetic. "A man maketh a bad bargain, if he loseth his and gaineth the whole world; whereas a woman maketh a good one, if she loseth hers and gaineth — a baby!"

"Spare thy sneers, my lord, and save thy blasphemy. They neither harm nor turn me."

"Lady! dost think thy Dudley hard of heart?"

Her lip curled in scorn.

"Marry, sweet one! thou art in error. As I love thee too well willingly to suffer in thine esteem, I must justify myself, and tell thee the truth. Remember, thou dost force me to it. I said that the granting of thy prayer doth not suit my convenience. I add, it suiteth not mine ambition. I use no guise. I refuse, not that I love the Lady Douglass less, but Elizabeth of England more. Dost apprehend? For *her*, I hold thee to thine oath to hide our marriage; and her *I will wed.*"

"A wife already be lawful impediment."

"Of a verity, thou art right. I see I must tell thee more; for thou art stupid. By Jesu! sith thou dost provoke me out of all bound of reason, take thy comfort of what will make thine ear tingle and thy tongue dumb. Dost know Signor Julio?"

"Thy physician, — the Italian?"

"My physician, — the Italian. Lady, he is a cunning compounder of subtle medicaments and perfumes; and is my vassal."

"Now, by the mother of God!" exclaimed the Lady Douglass, "dost say they be true which I have scorned for libels, — that he is thy foul fiend!"

"Nay, start not, lady. He is very obedient, and doth his work within twelve hours of my behest, when need be. But he doth it gently, — gently. Before thou canst have audience of her Majesty, good Anthony who keepeth guard yonder *might* have a word with Doctor Julio; and it *might* be thou wouldst put on a dainty glove, or smell a rose, or taste a comfit, and wake up on the morn in Paradise; which I commend to thy pondering in lieu of damning thine oath and thy soul."

"An I *be* a silly woman, my noble lord, not so silly as to weigh a threat like that. Thou dost overshoot thy mark, good my lord! Satan could not do such a thing!"

"Fool!" and the courtly Earl grasped her fair arm that she would have screamed, but for the terrible eye which bent upon her like a spell. "Fool! thou *shalt* believe! Hear me. Did I not steal thy poor, young, silly heart when thou wast wedded?"

"God forgive me! I confess it."

"And did not my passion urge me further?"

"To my shame? Troth."

"And didst not repel me, — which scarce another woman in the realm can do?"[1]

"By God's grace, I did."

[1] Lingard, VIII. 305.

"And there was no bar save thy bond to Sheffield?"

"None."

"And the fond fool had an extreme rheum in the head?"

The terrified lady had caught a glimmer of the truth, and with an effort, in a husky whisper, answered, "Yes."

"And died — on a sudden?"

Her eyes glared upon him, and she mechanically nodded.

"And thou wert a widow?"

A dumb assent.

"Woman! unbeliever! fool! With the Devil's help and Julio's, John Lord Sheffield had — *a Leicester cold!*"

The shock of such a revelation was too much for a frame already faltering under intense excitement, and nature took refuge in a swoon. The pirate of female charms, with a smile upon his lip, stood studying the magic power of his brutality, and admiring the effect of placid repose upon a face and form so beautiful. At length, taking from the folds of his doublet a small coral whistle tipped with gold, he sounded a shrill call, which was answered by the return of the two gentlemen from without.

"The noble lady," said the Earl, with perfect coolness, "hath upon her the weakness of her sex. Give her your dutiful attendance."

The two gentlemen sprang to her relief; but it was long before she came to herself. Leicester stood patiently at the entrance of the bower, now humming a lively air, now watching the birds brooding

or feeding their young, until he perceived that she had revived sufficiently to comprehend conversation. He then approached her gently, and with a softened aspect. A trace of her terror still lingered upon her countenance. Leicester perceived it, as she raised her head from the shoulder of Sir John Hubbard, and, gracefully dropping upon his knee by her side, he took her hand and said, in a low, firm voice: "Lady! the disclosure of our marriage may not be. Sir John, Master Digby, and all your servants, and yourself, are sworn to secrecy. The man or the woman who dareth to devise contrariously shall make atonement, — first to me, and *afterwards* to God"; — an order of words and an emphasis which, to *her* ear, had a clear and terrible meaning. "An thou dost find pleasure in my company, or count my love worth the keeping, vex me no more with thine importunity. Let muteness herein be thy policy. So shall Leicester continue thine husband; will bestow upon thee for thy greater comfort a yearly purse of seven hundred pounds; and care for our son as becometh the princely fortune of his father. But, an thou dost provoke my forbearance, I come near thee no more, and bar thee utterly from my bounty. To the one alternative, I give gage of my knightly word, as well as to the other; whereof these gentlemen be witnesses. I counsel thee, keep my favor; beware mine affronting. Nay, lady, answer not from hasty impulse. Ponder my words when thou art better conditioned. The question is simple," — and he rose with a voice and look expressive of the sternest determination, — "Dudley's love, or Leicester's hate. — Sirs! I intrust your lady to your sufficient care."

So saying, he returned to the gallantries and festivities of the palace.[1]

*"Of your lordship's inclination to further God's cause no man doubts."*

[1] The substance of this remarkable interview, and the various facts therein recited, may be found in the Biographia Britannica *sub nom.*; partly in the text, but mostly in Note E.

In 1573 the love of this lady for Leicester appears to have been unabated; for on the 11th of May of that year, Sir Gilbert Talbot, writing to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury, says: "There are two *sisters* in court very far in love with him," —Leicester,— "as they have been long; viz. my Lady Sheffield and Frances Howard. They belike, striving who shall love him better, are at great wars together." (Lodge, II. 100. Strype's Annals, III. 457. Life of Hatton, 22.) Leicester had also a daughter by her. To the son, he left most of his fortune by will.

Fuller says of her: "Whether his mistress or wife, God knoweth, many men being inclinable charitably to believe the latter." (Worthies, II. 212.) "After the death of her first husband, the Lady Sheffield was privately married to Leicester, by whom she had the famous Sir Robert Dudley." (Hardwicke Papers, I. 196.) "In the reign of King James," (Fuller, Ib., p. 213,) this son "instituted a suit in the Star-Chamber to establish the validity of his mother's marriage with the Earl; and the extraordinary manner in which the proceedings were stopped is fully set forth in Dugdale's Baronage." (Hardwicke Papers, Ibid. See also Lodge, I. 309.) The son introduced the mother as a witness, who testified on oath, that Leicester at last attempted to execute his threat of making way with her by poison; that potions were administered to her which so far operated as to cause the loss of her hair and nails; and that, knowing no other way to shelter herself from his murderous devices, she was constrained to marry Sir Edward Stafford. (Biog. Brit., Note E.)

"After the production of all this evidence, the heirs of Leicester exerted all their influence to stop proceedings, and Sir Robert Dudley died without being able to bring the matter to a legal decision. In the next reign," — Charles I., — "the evidence formerly given was reviewed, and the title of Duchess," — Countess? — "Dudley conferred on the widow of Sir Robert, the *patent setting forth* that the marriage of the Earl of Leicester with Lady Sheffield had been *satisfactorily proved*." — Aikin's Court of Queen Elizabeth, 269 (Philad. edit. 1823).

Almost all the reliable testimony concerning this case seems to be derived from Dugdale's Baronage, a work not to be found, I believe, in this country.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE PARLIAMENT OF 1566.

THE QUEEN AT GREENWICH. — BIRTH OF JAMES OF SCOTLAND. — HOW REGARDED IN ENGLAND. — THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SUCCESSION PROPOSED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1562-3. — THE LORDS OF COUNCIL NOW URGE IT UPON THE QUEEN. — HER ANSWER. — THE SUBJECT AGITATED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, WHO RESOLVE TO PRESS IT UPON THE QUEEN. — HER INDIGNATION. — A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS ADDRESS HER. — SHE ANGRILY RESENTS THEIR INTERFERENCE. — THE LORD-KEEPER ADDRESSES HER IN BEHALF OF BOTH HOUSES. — SHE SENDS ANSWER TO THE COMMONS, THAT THE TIME WILL NOT SUFFER TO TREAT OF THE SUCCESSION. — THE COMMONS RESUME THE SUBJECT. — THE QUEEN FORBIDS THE DISCUSSION. — THE COMMONS RESENT THE INHIBITION, AND "TWIT THE AUTHORITY OF THE QUEEN." — A SECOND INHIBITION. — THE COMMONS PERSIST. — THE QUEEN RETRACTS. — AT THE CLOSE OF THE PARLIAMENT, SHE REBUKES AND THREATENS. — PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

A FEW days after the occurrences mentioned in the last chapter, her Majesty gave a splendid entertainment at court. It was on the 23d of the month. In the evening, she herself engaged with even unusual zest in the amusements of the occasion; and all the gentlemen and ladies around her, taking their cue from the royal humor, were abandoning themselves to gallantry and courtly merry-making. The queen, "in great mirth," was giving vent to her spirits in a vigorous dance, — an accomplishment in which she prided herself, — when she perceived Sir William Cecil standing apart and looking intently towards her. She was surprised, for she knew that business of state required his presence, for that day, in London. Her pleasure was checked, for she

perceived by his attitude and countenance, that he was not *then* gazing with admiration, but under the burden of some special errand. Immediately quitting her favorite pastime, she advanced to meet him, with that stately carriage for which she was peerless even in her moments of towering passion. A look only, from Cecil, declared to her eye, that his business was private. A slight gesture on her part, and her train of attendants receded a little way from her person, leaving the queen and the secretary by themselves. Cecil, however, would not trust his voice in the neighborhood of itching ears; but addressed her Majesty in a whisper. Her countenance fell, and she stood for a moment like a statue; and then retired with her secretary to a recess, where they were concealed from curious eyes. The merriment of the brilliant assembly was dashed; whisperings and anxious surmisings took place of laughter and song.

When Cecil, after a little time, had taken his leave, and some of her ladies had found her still sitting there, with her head drooped upon her arm, she "burst out to them," with mournful vehemence, "The Queen of Scots is the mother of a fair son, while I— I— am but a barren stock!" She then retired gloomily to her privy chamber, and the gayeties of the night were ended.

Instantly upon the birth of Mary's son, four days before,[1] Sir James Melvil had taken horse and ridden post to London with the news. Contrary to his request, Cecil had chosen himself to communicate the intelligence to his sovereign, before Melvil could have access to her Court. The next morning, Sir

[1] Cecil's Journal; Murdin, 761.

James proceeded to Greenwich to execute his mission, where her Majesty welcomed him in her best apparel, radiant with smiles, and profuse in her congratulations. She declared to him that she had lain fifteen days under a heavy sickness; but that the joyful news of her cousin's delivery of a fair son had wrought upon her like a charm, and effected her complete recovery. This was needless lying certainly; and to Sir James Melvil it must have been ridiculous; for, on his way to Greenwich, he had been told of her Majesty's health, hilarity, and discomposure the evening before.[1]

Mary's maternity produced a great sensation in England. The Papists were full of joy, for the prospect of a Catholic succession to the English throne was now increased by another life. The Protestants, on the other hand, seeing Elizabeth still "without all likelihood of marriage," were now the more inclined to overlook the obvious title of the Queen of Scots as next heir to the throne, and were proposing to themselves, some one, and some another successor, from more remote branches of the royal family; dreading the accession of another Catholic, even more than the contingencies and horrors of a civil war.[2] Under these circumstances, "men of the most opposite parties began to cry aloud for some settlement of the succession."[3]

Nor was this all. Besides the political conspiracies abroad, — which will be noticed in another chapter, — other matters, doubtless unknown to the people at large, stimulated the queen's confidential ministers

[1] Melvil, 138.
[2] Camden, 83. D'Ewes, 104, 130.
[3] Hume, III. 24.

to join heartily with the popular voice. These matters were probably communicated, in some measure at least, to other most prominent peers of the realm. A foreign Popish plot against the queen's life had for more than two years been known to some of the Privy Council.[1] Indeed, to go farther back, just after the Viscount Montague — a true loyalist and a man of honor — had set himself, with the vigor and courage of an honest Catholic, against the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, by his speech in the House of Lords,[2] and while yet the breath of his words had hardly cooled, he had communicated to her, in a private letter, his knowledge of a like design for her assassination.[3]

[1] See *infra*, Chap. XIII.

[2] See *ante*, Chap. VI.

[3] The Viscount Montague to the queen, concerning a conversation between Gaspar Pregnor, the Emperor's ambassador, and himself. No date. Marginal date in Haynes, 1559.

". . . . . 'And therefore,' quoth he [Gaspar], 'I will impart unto you that which, before God! I know to be true. . . . . The queen and all England is in no small peril, yea, the very person of the queen; and this I do say to you as knowing it, and would say more if I might, which by —— I may not.' . . . . . 'At least I require of you,' said I, 'for the love and care which you show to bear to the queen and realm, to signify . . . . . which way this peril doth grow to her Majesty's realm, and chiefly her person.' He said he would. 'And for the first time there hath,' quoth he, 'been talks and devices in no small places, for the dividing of Scotland and England; and this,' quoth he, 'is assuredly true. For the person of the Queen's Majesty, I know it hath been offered, and is, that she shall be slain; which offer of both, how they have been taken, I know not, but sure I am they have been made. . . . . These words,' quoth he, 'spoken . . . . . but only (God I take to record) knowing the same and wishing well to the realm.' He refused to tell which way the enemy cometh; saying only, 'The queen will easily judge, by this much, of the rest; but because you ask me, this much I say of myself, — it behooveth the queen in any wise to please this king of Spain, and lose him by no means; then to be temperate in those matters which may offend this king of Spain and other; lastly, to have *fidele satellitium* for the guard of your person.'" — Haynes, 324.

Historians too often view these murderous plots through the refracting medium of religious partialities; but whether they were verities or baseless rumors, affects not the point before us. By Elizabeth and her ministers, who had better means of judging than we, they were taken for realities. Of this we have sufficient evidence in a paper drawn by Cecil, — apparently official, and in the year 1560, — containing minute precautionary measures to be adopted by her Majesty to guard her person from poison; showing clearly his own fears, and those of the Privy Council, of foul designs against her life.[1]

These plots, so far at least as they were known and believed, of course intensified the anxiety that

[1] Cautions for the queen's apparel and diet: —

"We think it very convenient that your Majesty's apparel, and specially all manner of things that shall touch any part of your Majesty's body bare, be circumspectly looked unto; and that no person be permitted to come near it, but such as have the trust and charge thereof.

"*Item.* That no manner of perfume, either in apparel or sleeves, gloves, or such like, or otherwise, that shall be appointed for your Majesty's savor, be presented by any stranger, or other persons, but that the same be corrected by some other fume.

"*Item.* That no foreign meat or dishes, being dressed out of your Majesty's Court, be brought to your food, without assured knowledge from whom the same cometh; and that no use be had hereof.

"*Item.* That it may please your Majesty to take the advice of your physician for the receiving weekly twice, some preservative *contra pestem et venena*, as there be many good things and *salutaria*.

"*Item.* It may please your Majesty to give order who shall take the charge of the back doors to your chamberer's chambers, where laundresses, tailors, wardrobers, and such, used to come; and that the same doors may be duly attended upon, as becometh, and not to stand open but upon necessity.

"*Item.* That the privy chamber may be better ordered with an attendance of an usher and the gentlemen and grooms."

From a minute of Cecil, A. D. 1560. (Haynes, 368.) This paper may have been suggested by the letter quoted in the preceding note; and probably was, if that letter was dated between January and March 25, 1559–60, as it may have been.

the succession of the crown should be solemnly settled by her Majesty; for, while undetermined, every hazard of her life increased the danger of civil convulsions.

But before narrating the memorable proceedings of the next Parliament, it is necessary to look backward for a moment. The Commons having faithfully and respectfully prompted the queen, in 1559, upon the subject of marriage, had taken the same step, during the session of 1562–3, in regard to the succession. A little while before, the queen had been perilously sick,[1] which had alarmed the people, and moved the Commons to their proceeding. She had received them in a body; and with fair courtesy had replied to the address of their Speaker, Williams, that "the matter was so grave, as needed great and grave advice, for which she must now defer her answer to further time;[2] but so great was her own concern in this matter, that when of late death had possessed every joint of her, she had desired life for the realm's sake only, not for her own, — knowing that, had she then ceased to reign at Whitehall, she should have reigned in a better place."[3] After having waited a fortnight, some of the Commons, growing impatient, had prevailed for a message of reminder to be sent to her Majesty in the name of the House.[4] Four days afterwards, she had sent her "further answer" to this effect: "That she doubted not but the grave heads of the House did right well consider that she forgot not their suit for the succession, nor could forget it, the matter being so weighty; but that she

[1] D'Ewes, 81. Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 81.
[2] D'Ewes, 81.
[3] Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 80–83.
[4] D'Ewes, 84.

willed the young heads to take example of the ancients."[1] This cool — if not contemptuous — evasion of a matter so momentous, was not now forgotten; and served, no doubt, to fan the popular excitement.

Such were the circumstances which pressed upon the minds of the Commons and of the Lords respecting the determination of the succession, when the Parliament were again assembled, on the thirtieth day of September.

How much of the Puritan element there was in the Commons House of 1566 it is impossible to determine. But that there was considerable appears from the fact, that no less than "six bills touching reformation of matters of religion and Church government" were introduced, though cut off from final proceeding by the dissolution of Parliament.[2]

The word *Liberty*, however, had already been spoken, and in its true and noble import. Timorously, feebly, and only religiously, it is true; yet the idea had vibrated in the mind of the Christian man, and made him point the finger doubtingly at the prerogative of the prince. In *this* sense, it had first been spoken by the PURITANS, — not from beneath the

[1] D'Ewes, 85.

With some misgivings, I have omitted to notice in the text the queen's final postponement of this subject, by her address through the Lord Keeper at the close of the Parliament of 1562–3. I have done so, relying upon the statement of D'Ewes, (p. 107,) which I confess I do not confidently understand. He seems to say that the queen's answer to the Lords on this subject in 1566 has been *erroneously* placed — by himself? — under the doings of Parliament in 1562–3. Besides, the queen's answer, recorded under date of April 10th, 1563, (D'Ewes, 75,) is nothing but a meagre abstract of that given to the Lords in 1566. So far as it goes, even the words are almost identical. Hume did not read D'Ewes, on this point, with sufficient carefulness. See also Hallam, 148, note.

[2] D'Ewes, 185.

humble side-gown and cornered cap only, but from beneath the cope and the mitre.[1] But the question which the curate — dreaming little of its greatness — had started in his vestry concerning the rights of the Christian, we now hear in Parliament applied to the rights of the citizen; naturally enough too, for religious and political affairs had been intertwined for so many generations, religious despotism had so long been identified with political, that it was impossible to touch the one without mooting the other. Thus it was but a step from the right of choosing a garment in the Church, to that of choosing a theme in Parliament.

Whether, then, the Puritan element was more, or whether it was less, in this House of Commons of 1566, and although in the great movement there all parties shared alike, the spirit which sustained debate, and the principles by which it was defended, betray the genius, if not the dominant influence, of the Puritan. He was there.

After the meeting of the Parliament, the first action concerning the great topic of public interest was by the Duke of Norfolk. There being no princes of the blood, and no other of his title, he was both a peerless Peer, and next in rank to the queen. His character and influence corresponded with his position; and he possessed the good graces of his sovereign.[2] With these advantages, he was the most proper person to move her in a matter to which she had showed a strong repugnance; but the re-opening

[1] *Ante*, p. 179, note 2. Strype's Parker, Append. XXV.

[2] Hume, III. 59.

of which was made imperative by the condition of the state and the fever of the public mind. Accordingly, he was deputed by the nobility to do so, and in their name. On the 12th of October, therefore, at a meeting of the Lords of the Council in the queen's palace of Whitehall, he addressed himself to her Majesty with the plainness becoming a case so serious, softened by the courtly urbanity for which he was distinguished. Briefly noticing the dangers of a disputed succession, and the reasonable wishes of her people, he urged her, by the love she bore them, to keep them no longer in suspense either in regard to her marriage or the succession.

Hitherto — thanks to the deference which her sex commanded — she had been able to waive themes so disagreeable; to parry remonstrances and exhortations without exciting murmurings. But Norfolk's suit was for *to-day;* and not for fair words and cheering hopes, but for the performance of those which she had given. The matter was before her, — face to face. She met it.

"Do you complain of me! You have no occasion. You have had none. I have well governed in peace. A late but trifling war may have been an occasion of murmuring among my subjects. But the war hath not originated in me; in you, I verily believe, it hath. Lay your hands on your hearts and blame yourselves. The succession! Not one of ye shall have the choice of it. I reserve it to myself alone. My sister was buried while alive. I will not be. I know well how every one hastened to me while she was still living. Why? Because — I was the successor. I am not inclined, just now, to see such

travellers. In this matter I desire none of your advice in any way.

"Touching my marriage, you may see well enough that I am not distant from it, or from what respects the welfare of the kingdom. Go each of you, and do your own duty."[1]

Thus unpromisingly did the controversy open. Yet Norfolk had succeeded where others had failed. He had extorted a direct answer.

On the 2d of October, Mr. Onslow, the Speaker elect of the Commons, had been presented to the queen; had "disabled" himself; and "his election had been allowed." But, in making the customary petitions,[2] he had omitted those for liberty of speech and for freedom from arrests;[3] "contrary," says D'Ewes, "to all former and latter precedents."[4] This fact is noticeable. Whether the first was omitted for a purpose, and the latter, that so the whole might the more plausibly be charged to forgetfulness; or whether both omissions were merely accidental, — is worth keeping in mind as we pass over the doings of a House in which "so great liberty of speech by divers was never used in any Parliament or session of Parliament before or since,"[5] to the time — about 1625[6] — when the compiler of the Journals wrote.

On the 17th of October, in the House of Commons, the queen's Privy Councillors, enlarging upon her Majesty's extraordinary expenses in the late war, which had exhausted her treasury, moved to proportion out some supply to meet the necessities of the

[1] D'Israeli, 169.
[2] See above, Chap. VI.
[3] D'Ewes, 98.
[4] Ibid., 121.
[5] Ibid., 122.
[6] Ibid., 527.

state.[1] A member of the House immediately replied, "That he saw no occasion for this. The war which had drained the treasury was the queen's war; neither undertaken for defence of her kingdom, or advantage of her subjects. The House would be better employed in inquiring *how the money had been expended*, than in devising for more money to be spent. They who had had the handling of it should be made to produce their accounts, to show whether it had been used well or ill." [2]

Mr. Basche, a purveyor of the marine, having next iterated the statements of the Privy Councillors with some emphasis, — "Troth!" exclaimed a member, "Mr. Basche hath large reasons for what he saith. They be of like bigness as certain large moneys he hath had the fingering of, for the provisioning of ships. Marry! the more he consumeth, the more be his profits. To my thinking, there be too many purveyors in the realm already, whose noses are grown so long that they stretch from London to the West. Let us know what they do with their levies." [3]

Nothing more was debated or done that day, but to appoint a committee to consider the matter first proposed.[4]

The next day, another member concluded some remarks upon the proposed subsidy by saying that it was of far more importance that the House consider of a successor to the crown and of the queen's marriage.[5] Whereupon Mr. Molineux moved to revive the suit — which had been first moved by the

[1] D'Ewes, 124. D'Israeli, 170.
[2] D'Israeli, 170.
[3] Ibid.
[4] D'Ewes, 124.
[5] D'Israeli, 170.

House in the fifth year of the queen — touching the declaration of a successor, in case the queen should die without issue of her own body; and to have the business of the succession proceed *jointly with that of a subsidy*.[1] His motion included no mention of the queen's marriage.[2] But Sir Ralph Sadler, one of the Privy Council, succeeded in staying the House from further proceedings at that time, by affirming that he had heard her Majesty say, in presence of divers of the nobility, that, for the good of the realm, she was minded to marry; and he added, that it were therefore seemly that the House should wait awhile for the result of this her Majesty's declaration, instead of intermeddling with the matter of succession.[3]

The next day — Saturday the 19th — Sir William Cecil and Sir Francis Knollys declared to the House, that, *by the special Providence of God*, the queen was moved to marriage, and, for the good of her subjects, to prosecute it. Others of the Privy Council said the same; and urged the House, as Sir Ralph Sadler had done, to suspend further suit touching the succession, in consideration of her Majesty's purpose. What these councillors said was doubtless by her Majesty's special direction;[4] for the queen allowed her ministers to pledge her royal word to the Commons for her intention to marry, as often as they found it necessary.[5] But the House were in no humor for such advice. Several lawyers — the chief of whom were Mounson, Bell, and Kingsmill — "ar-

[1] D'Ewes, 124.
[2] Ibid., 130.
[3] Ibid., 124, 130.
[4] Ibid., 124.
[5] D'Israeli, 169.

gued very boldly and judiciously" for Molineux's motion;[1] and the whole House, with the exception of a single voice, began to clamor for the succession.[2]

Hoping to divert their bent, or at least to secure precedence for the supply, Cecil prayed them to have a little patience, and in time they should be satisfied; but that at this moment other matters pressed, — it was necessary to satisfy the queen about a subsidy.[3] Therefore, as one of the committee appointed for the purpose on the 17th, he made a declaration of the rates of one subsidy.[4]

Upon this the House became excited, shouting, "No! no! no!" And, as a reason for this determinedness, it was added: "We are expressly charged by our constituents, to grant no moneys until the queen answers, resolvedly, what we now ask. Our towns and counties are resolute on this subject. If we obey not their injunctions, *our hands will answer for it.*"[5]

The ministers were baffled. The House resolved to renew the suit for the declaration of a successor, and to get the queen's answer. A committee was also appointed, to devise concerted action with the lords of the Upper House.[6] Here the matter ended for the day in the Commons, but not in the palace.

These proceedings were forthwith reported to the queen, by some of "the principal lords." She received the report with the ire of a Tudor. "The Commons are rebellious!" she exclaimed. "In the life of my father, they had not dared such things.

[1] D'Ewes, 124.
[2] D'Israeli, 170.
[3] Ibid.
[4] D'Ewes, 125.
[5] D'Israeli, 170.
[6] D'Ewes, 124.

It is not for them to impede my affairs by parleying about a subsidy. Are they my subjects, or are they not? If they are, it doth marvellously misbecome them to tell *me* what I shall do about a successor. Know they what they are about? What they ask is wishing me to dig my grave before I am dead!"[1]

On Tuesday, the 22d, the Lords sent to the Commons, requesting that the committee appointed on the 19th, to confer with them upon the succession, would postpone conference until Wednesday.[2] The reason of this, though not stated in the Journals, we have from a contemporary source. Four of the Lords Spiritual, and sixteen of the Lords Temporal, were pre-engaged to repair to her Majesty's presence on the same day.[3] Accordingly they went to her from the Parliament-House after dinner, and met her in her private apartment. Neither Norfolk, Leicester,

[1] D'Israeli, 170.

The entire burden upon the minds of the Commons and of their constituents was The Succession; and — so far as appears from the Journals — this was the only theme of their debates until the 22d (compare D'Ewes, 125 with 130, also Hume, III. 24, 25), when the business of the queen's marriage (through the influence of her ministers there, by herself instructed to that effect — Hallam, 148) was "colorably added, that the motion touching succession might be less distasteful to her Majesty." On the 19th, when she censured their doings as in the text, the Commons were not debating at all the subject of her *marriage;* nor had they done so. Therefore the last clause of her censure gives no clew to the reason of her *aversion to marriage.* It could not have had reference to anything but what was agitated in the Commons, — the succession; and is to be understood in the same sense as her words to the Lords of the Council on the 12th: "I will not be buried while I am living, *as my sister was.*"

The reader will find the reason for this note on p. 169 of D'Israeli, where he says: "Urging her to *marriage*, she said, was asking nothing less than wishing her to dig her own grave," &c. That she uttered these words on Saturday the 19th appears from p. 170 of D'Israeli.

[2] D'Ewes, 125.

[3] Ibid., 101, 125.

nor Pembroke was of this deputation;[1] for they had offended her Majesty by advising that Parliament, without her concurrence, should designate her successor; and had therefore been forbidden her presence.[2] As soon as her attendants had retired, the venerable Lord Treasurer, the Marquess of Winchester, now ninety-two years of age,[3] announced the errand of the Lords.

"The Commons," he said, "had required them to unite in soliciting her Majesty to appoint a successor; the necessity of contingent dangers to the kingdom compelled the Lords to urge the point; her royal predecessors had been accustomed to make such provision long beforehand; the Commons were so resolved to settle this matter before subsidy or anything else, that the time of the Parliament was frittered away in trivial discussions; and, in the name of all he supplicated her Majesty to declare her will on this point, or at once to end the Parliament."

"My lords," said she, "do what you will. As for myself, I shall do nothing but according to my pleasure. All the resolutions which you may make can have no force without my consent and authority. Besides, what you desire is an affair of much too great importance to be declared to a knot of harebrains. I will take counsel with men who understand justice and the laws, as I am deliberating to do. I will choose half a dozen of the most able I

[1] D'Ewes, 101.

[2] Cecil's Journal, under date of Oct. 27, in Murdin, 762. Camden, 83. The account given in D'Israeli states that Norfolk was present and spoke. But his name is not on the list in D'Ewes. Cecil, in his Journal, does not mention Norfolk — only Pembroke and Leicester — as being excluded from the queen's presence-chamber.

[3] Holingshed, IV. 317.

can find in my kingdom for consultation; and, after having heard their advice, I will then discover to you my will." On this she dismissed them in great anger.[1]

Without entering upon the details of transactions between the Lords and the Commons, it is necessary only to state, that neither House desisted from its purpose; and that a joint committee was appointed to urge the queen both to marriage and the appointment of a successor. It was agreed that this should be done chiefly in the name of the Lords, inasmuch as the Commons had done the same by themselves in the fifth year of the queen.[2]

The sentiments of the two Houses were accordingly laid before her Majesty — at what precise time is uncertain — by the Lord Keeper Bacon. Her answer was given to a special deputation of thirty of the Lords and thirty of the Commons, selected at her command. They waited upon her in the afternoon of the 5th of November,[3] at her palace of Whitehall. Among *this* deputation, we find the names of Norfolk, Leicester, and Pembroke.[4] The next day, her answer was reported to the Commons by Sir Edward Rogers and Sir William Cecil, to this effect: "That the Queen's Majesty's Highness, by God's grace, would marry, and would have it therefore believed; and touching limitation for succession, the perils were so great to her person, some of which she had felt in her sister's time, that time will

[1] D'Israeli, 170.
[2] D'Ewes, 104, 127.
[3] Cecil's Journal (Murdin, 762) says the 14th of November.
[4] D'Ewes, 103, 104 *bis*, and 127. Camden, 85.

not yet suffer to treat of it." The journalist adds significantly, "Whereupon, *all the House was silent.*"

Two days afterwards, however,—that is, on the 8th of November,—the subject was again opened by a motion from Mr. Lambert, which he supported by "a learned oration," that the House "do press further their former suit touching the declaration of a successor." Her Majesty, hearing of this, and fearing a fresh agitation of this subject, sent her commands the next day to the House, by Sir Francis Knollys, "that they should no further proceed in their suit, but satisfy themselves with her promise of marriage; and that she did expressly inhibit the further discussion of this business." This was on Saturday.[1]

So arbitrary a command woke resistance; and on Monday, the 11th, at nine o'clock in the morning, as soon as the Clerk had opened the House by reading prayer, Mr. Paul Wentworth sprung a question, new on the floor of that House,—"whether the queen's command and inhibition, that they should no longer dispute the matter of succession, were not *against the liberties and privileges of* the House?"

The idea was caught up,—the Puritan idea, which every late transaction in the Parliament-House and in the Palace had tended to elicit,—and the indignation of the deputies broke forth. The imperiousness of the queen was equalled by the resentment of her Commons. How far the particular point of Wentworth's great question was discussed is unknown; but a more liberal illustration of Parliamentary liberty and privilege was never given; never was

[1] D'Ewes, 128.

the prerogative of the citizen more tenaciously seized upon, or more roundly asserted. The members began "tumultuously to twit the authority of the queen"; and declarations the most startling, and hitherto on that floor unparalleled both for boldness and for doctrine, were given forth by different voices for five successive hours.[1] The substance, only, of these declarations is left on record, and was as follows: —

"The impregnable fort of princes, their *only* prop and pillar, is — the love of their subjects. To secure this love, they must provide for the well-being of their realms; not for the term of their own lives only, but for time after their death. This provision cannot be made unless a successor be certainly known. The queen *is bound* to designate her successor. By not doing so, she doth provoke God's wrath, and alienate her people. If she regard God's and her people's favor, let her do her duty, else she shall no more be reckoned a nurse, a mother, but a step-mother; nay, a parricide of the country which God hath given her to foster. It shall be reckoned to her infamy, that she would rather that England, which now breatheth with her breath, should die when she dies than survive her.

"No princes have ever stood in fear of their successors, but such as have been hated of their people, and cowards, and timorous women. The prince who is intrenched in the people's heart, never need fear a successor."[2]

Out of doors, moreover, the Commons defamed Cecil with scandalous slanders, as a corrupt counsel-

[1] D'Ewes, 128.

[2] Camden, 83. Echard, 807.

lor in this matter; and cursed Huick, the queen's physician, as a dissuader of her Majesty from marriage.[1] The debates were terminated only by the lateness of the hour.

The next morning, when the Commons assembled, at their usual hour of nine, they had no Speaker. The queen had him at Whitehall. She kept him there until after ten o'clock, showing him what a royal woman's wrath was when roused from its lair by houndings like those of yesterday. At length he appeared in his place, whence he announced, that "it was her Highness' special command to the House,— although she had sent the like before,— that there should be no further talk there touching the declaration of a successor; and that, if any one was not satisfied, but had further reasons, he should come before the Privy Council and show them."[2]

But the House, with unprecedented daring and firmness, set the royal command at defiance; for— although nothing further of their debates appears upon record — they "did, notwithstanding these several inhibitions and restrictions, further prosecute the same matter, plainly and singly, . . . . . until the 25th of the month."[3]

[1] Cecil, in Murdin, 762. Camden, 83.

[2] D'Ewes, 128.

[3] Ibid., 130.

I have two reasons for the assertion that the Commons were not silenced by the royal command through Mr. Speaker Onslow. The first is, the explicit assertion of D'Ewes which is quoted in the text; although, it must be confessed, it is very singular that he gives no data for an assertion of so much importance. The second is, if the Commons did not continue to agitate the subject of the succession, if they obeyed the queen's order by silence thereupon during fourteen successive days, from the 12th to the 24th inclusive, there seems to have been no occasion for the very remarkable proceeding of the queen in revoking her prohibition on the 25th.

I find that Mr. Hallam (p. 148)

This position of affairs was serious. The spirit, even the passions, of the Commons were roused; the dignity, the authority of the crown, were in danger of being compromised. At this point, had the latter ventured upon another provocation, or had not soothed the manhood which it had stung, it is impossible to say what would have ensued. But Elizabeth wisely receded. On Monday, the 25th, she sent again for Onslow. He returned from Whitehall to the Parliament-House with a message from her Majesty, that she did take back her two former prohibitions against freedom of speech; "a revocation which was taken of all most joyfully, with hearty thanks for the same." They talked no more of the succession. From the moment they had been told to hush, where they felt they had a right to talk, they had been talking that they might preserve their right, — talking because they were forbidden. The withdrawal of the commandment, was the withdrawal of the cause. This gone, they ceased of course; and the contest was over. They were the sons of men.[1]

Elizabeth had been convinced, and probably by ministers who understood human nature better than she did, — and here Cecil's sagacity is indicated, — that the contest was hazardous; and that her own yielding, while yet it could be as an act of grace, would both save the dignity of the crown and end the quarrel. It did; and that one of her temper and her notions of the royal prerogative should have

seems to have considered the debates continued until the queen's revocation, when, in accounting for it, he says, "more, probably, having passed than we know at present."

[1] D'Ewes, 130.

done so, is sufficient evidence that the crisis was imperative.

The progress of the subsidy grant is not traceable in the Journal; but it appears that a third payment — a greater than was usual — had been offered by the Estates on condition that her Majesty would designate a successor;[1] or rather, to induce her to do so;[2] and that in consideration that the expectation was not met,[3] she remitted the extraordinary payment, saying, with happy courtesy, that "money in her subjects' coffers was as good as in her own."[4]

At the close of the Parliament, — January 2d, 1566–7, — after the customary address to the throne by the Speaker of the Commons, and the Lord Keeper's reply in her name, — in which he censured them for proceedings against good laws and for questioning her Majesty's prerogative,[5] the queen, innovating upon the usual course, spake herself as follows: —

"My Lords, and others the Commons of this assembly, I have a few words further to speak to you, although I have not been used, nor love, to do it in such open assemblies. But whereas princes' words do enter more deeply into men's ears and minds, take these things from our mouth. I, that am a lover of simple truth, have ever thought you likewise to be ingenuous lovers of the same. But I have been deceived; for in this Parliament Dissimulation hath walked up and down, masked under Liberty and Succession. Some of you have thought that liberty to

[1] Camden, 85, 86.
[2] Cecil, in Murdin, 762. D'Ewes, 131.
[3] D'Ewes, 131. Hallam, 81, note, 149.
[4] D'Ewes, 115. Camden, 86.
[5] D'Ewes, 115.

dispute of the succession, and of the establishment of the same, is absolutely to be granted or denied. Had we granted it, these men had had their desire, and had triumphed over us. Had we denied it, they thought to have moved what foreign enemy never could, — the hatred of my Commons. But they began to pierce the vessel before the wine was fined; their wisdom was unseasonable, and their counsels over-hasty; nor did they foresee the event, which is, that we have easily perceived who incline towards us and who are adverse to us. Your whole House may be divided into four sorts; — plotters; actors, persuading by smooth words; consenters, seduced by those smooth words; and the mutes, astonished at such audacity, who are the most excusable.

"But do ye think that we neglect your security as to the succession? or that we have a will to infringe your liberty? No. It was never my meaning; but to stay you before you fell into the ditch. Everything hath his fit season. Ye may, peradventure, have after us a wiser prince; but a more loving, never.

"For our part, whether we may see such a Parliament again, we know not; but for you, beware lest ye provoke your prince's patience, as ye have now done mine. Nevertheless, — not to make a Lent of Christmas, — the most part may assure yourselves that ye depart in your prince's grace."[1]

The Lord Keeper then *dissolved* the Parliament.

Elizabeth unquestionably considered the right of succession to be in Mary of Scotland. To her, while

[1] D'Ewes, 116, and Camden, 89, collated.

a widow, she had already signified that her marriage with some approved English nobleman might open a way for a declaration in her favor; that "such a declaration would be hasted forward according to Mary's good behavior, and applying herself to follow Elizabeth's pleasure and advice in her marriage"![1] It had also "been secretly thought of in the English cabinet, that Mary should surrender unto Elizabeth and to heirs of her body all manner of claim; in consideration of which, the Scottish queen's interest should be acknowledged in default of heirs of the body of Queen Elizabeth."[2] In May, 1564, John Hales had been committed to prison for writing a book *against* the Queen of Scots' title to the crown[3]; and now, immediately after the dissolution of Parliament, upon Mary's complaint that a lawyer in Lincoln's Inn had questioned her right, Elizabeth, to appease the public mind by an intimation of her own opinion, imprisoned him in the Tower.[4] The reasons for her unwillingness to declare her successor she had signified in part to the Lords of Council as stated above. But as her declaration, if made, would doubtless have been in Mary's favor, she also had fears — of a politico-religious kind — that a confirmation of her title now would facilitate, if not suggest, some attempt to place the Catholic princess in possession.[5] This gives a clew to the meaning of several obscure expressions in her address to the Parliament. We are bound to suppose that her fears

[1] Melvil, 82, 95. Echard, 805.
[2] Hardwicke Papers, I. 174; Cecil to Throckmorton, in 1561.
[3] Strype's Annals, II. 117, 121.
[4] Cecil, in Murdin, 762. Camden, 89.
[5] Melvil, 94; Elizabeth to Melvil. Hallam, 81.

were not groundless; and, if so, she is to be justified for her inflexible refusal to avow her successor.[1]

The Commons, however, were not fired by her refusal so much as by her imperious orders against the right of debate; and it is this fact only which invests their behavior with interest to the student of Puritan history, — the initiating upon *that* floor the same questions, "What are the rights of the prince?" "What are the rights of the subject?" which had been originated in a humbler sphere; the same questions, — only with a broader, a political application; the same leaven in another measure of meal.

There will be occasion to observe its working hereafter.

It may be as appropriate in this connection as elsewhere to dwell a moment upon Queen Elizabeth's persistence in a life of celibacy.

Perhaps the desirableness of her marriage, as the means of providing an undisputed and acceptable heir to her throne, cannot be more succinctly brought to view than by the following scrap of a dialogue between the Queen Dowager of France and Sir Thomas Smith, as reported by himself.

"'Jesu!' saith she, 'and doth not your mistress see that she shall be always in danger until she marry? That once done, and in some good house,

[1] The embarrassments attending the declaration of Elizabeth's successor, whether she and her Parliament should decide for or against the Queen of Scots, are set forth at large, and with admirable clearness by Hume. (III. 7, 8. Chap. XXXIX.) See also Hallam, 81.

who shall dare attempt anything against her?' 'Madam,' quoth I, 'I think if she were once married, all in England that had any traitorous hearts would be discouraged: for one tree alone may soon be cut down, but when there be two or three together, it is longer a-doing, and one shall watch for the other; but if she had a child, then all these bold and troublesome titles of the Scotch queen, or other that make such gaping for her death, will be clean choked up.'"[1]

The danger of the queen's life, and the danger to her kingdom should her life fail by assassination or otherwise, are both indicated here; and on these grounds her people and her ministers were intensely anxious for her marriage. Nor is it to be supposed that Elizabeth herself did not both understand and appreciate these reasons; and although she seems to have been apathetic, to a degree which distressed and almost irritated her Council, in reference to plots against her life, yet she was by no means indifferent to the good of her people.

In woman, the craving for something to love is peculiarly an instinct, — a special provision for those relations of life which are designed peculiarly for herself. Where, by any chance, these relations do not spring up, the instinct cannot be so easily suppressed, or so easily appeased by substitutes, as the meaner one in men. It is ever feeling after something human on which to *repose*, and for something human to *cherish*. It was, therefore, with a significance which none but a true woman can comprehend, that Elizabeth called England her husband, and Eng-

[1] Digges, 167; Smith to Burleigh, 1571–2.

lishmen her children. Much as she courted the people, this language was not the mere rhetoric of a court, or the clap-trap of a demagogue. With her, it was truth. It expressed, as no other language could have done, the *nature* of those sentiments which, as a woman-prince and unwived, she cherished towards her realm and her people. Here were entwined those womanly affections whose appropriate objects she lacked.

In the following charge to her Council and Judges, "as one reporteth who saith he heard it with his own ears," the woman spake as truly as the queen.

"Have a care over my people. You have my place. Do you that which I ought to do. They are my people. Every man oppresseth them, and spoileth them without mercy. They cannot revenge their quarrel, nor help themselves. See unto them; see unto them, for they are my charge. I charge you, even as God hath charged me. I care not for myself; my life is not dear to me; my care is for my people. I pray God, whosoever succeed me be as careful as I am. They which might know what cares I bear would not think I took any great joy in wearing the crown."

"Could a mother," adds the chronicler, "speak more tenderly for her infant, than this good queen speaketh for her people?"[1]

In 1581, Sir Edward Stafford was sent envoy to France, chiefly to observe the behavior of the French towards the Low Countries, of which the sovereignty had just been offered to the Duke of Anjou, for whose marriage with Elizabeth a negotiation was

[1] Holingshed, IV. 253.

then in process. Who but a true woman could have written thus?

"O Stafford! I think not myself well used, and so tell Monsieur, that I am made a stranger to myself, which *he* must be if this matter take place. In my name show him how impertinent it is for this season, to bring to the ears of our people so ungrateful news. God forbid that the banes[1] of our nuptial feast should be savored with the sauce of our subjects' wealth! O, what may they think of me, that for any glory of my own would procure the ruin of my land! Hitherto they have thought me no fool: let me not live the longer the worse. . . . . My mortal foe can noways wish me a greater loss than England's hate; neither should death be less welcome unto me than such mishap betide me. You see how nearly this matter wringeth me, use it accordingly. . . . . Rather will I never meddle with marriage, than have such a bad covenant added to my part. Shall it ever be found true, that Queen Elizabeth hath solemnized the perpetual harm of England under the glorious title of marriage with Francis, heir of France? No, no; it shall never be. . . . . I hope I shall not live to that hour. . . . . In haste, your sovereign, Elizabeth."[2]

The simple solemnity of her charge and the nervous pathos of her letter betoken sincerity. Such is not the style of the cabinet, but of nature, of heart, of self-sacrificing affection. But when this charge was uttered and this letter penned, no one thing was so ominous of "the perpetual harm of England" as her lack of an heir of her body. Yet she rejected

[1] The *banns*.

[2] Wright, II. 151.

suitor after suitor, and went through the term of her virility, "a barren stock." Such conduct, in such a sovereign, under such circumstances, can be accounted for only upon the supposition of some insurmountable impediment to marriage, some organic defect which assured her loss of life in giving life,—of such a nature that she could not disclose it to her ministers,—and which, had it been known, would have demonstrated the *very absurdity* of calumnies which we shall notice hereafter. This conclusion is confirmed by the probability that Huick was "a dissuader of her marriage"; and affectingly so, by that bitter wail of hers when reporting to her ladies that Mary was a mother.[1]

[1] Bayle, in his Notes L and T, under the article "Elizabeth," canvasses this matter *à la Français;* with which I will not offend my readers. One word of it only. The only good sense to be extorted from his quotation from the Abbot Siri is, that the Abbot was simply silly, and sillily simple.

# CHAPTER XII.

## THE FIRST SEPARATION.

The Question of Separate Worship opened. — Restraint upon the Press. — Separation discussed. — Resolved upon. — Conventicles. — The Queen incensed. — The Congregation in the Hall of the Plumbers arrested. — The Examination. — Religious Liberty claimed. — Prisoners sent to Bridewell. — The Church Establishment shaped to win the Catholics. — Objections to such a Platform. — Expulsion of Nonconformists from the Offices of the Church justifiable — ecclesiastically. — Punishment for preaching justifiable — legally. — Folly of Ecclesiastical Precisianism and Compulsion. — The Right to make Laws involves the Right to punish. — The Dogma of "Church and State."

### 1566–1567.

The Puritans had sought for toleration. They had plied all their influence, and set in motion all their friends at Court,[1] that the letter of the law's penalty might not be urged upon them, — that they might not be compelled to use vestments and ceremonies which they regarded as symbols and abettors of a false religion. They had failed. The queen had roused her primate to enforce uniformity; the primate, in his turn, had called upon the queen for help; the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had been at work; and the non-conforming clergy, by scores, had been forbidden to preach, and ejected from their livings.

For "seven or eight weeks" after the last citation

[1] Strype's Parker, 229.

and discipline of ministers, in March, 1565–6,[1] they and their people had contented themselves with going hither and yon to hear such preachers as Coverdale, Sampson, and Lever. But when this resource failed them, or became precarious, — as mentioned at the close of our ninth chapter, — they had begun, as Pilkington stated to Leicester, to talk about worshipping by themselves, and in a manner consonant with their own ideas of Gospel simplicity. This term of "seven or eight weeks" shows that this device must have been propounded about the 10th of May.

They had also had recourse to the press; and set forth books in justification of their opinions and behavior.[2] These books "were written with so much confidence and sharpness, that the Archbishop and the state thought fit to have them considered and answered."[3] But the Commissioners were not content with rejoinders from the press. They "thought it not convenient, by any means, that the queen's injunctions and other laws and ordinances, made for the regular and uniform worship of God, should be thus openly impugned." They had therefore moved the Council for a decree from the Star-Chamber, prohibiting such publications; and accordingly, on the 29th of June, such a decree had been published, and with the signatures of some whose policy, if not sympathy, was averse to such measures.[4] It forbade, under very severe penalties, the publishing, the sale, and every part of the manufacturing, of any book

[1] Strype's Parker, 241, 242; Grindal, 116.

[2] Strype's Parker, 220, 221; Annals, II. 162–169.

[3] Strype's Parker, 220.

[4] Ibid., 221, 222.

against the force and meaning of any orders set forth, or to be set forth, touching religious worship; and authorized search for any such books in all suspected places. It also required bonds of every bookseller, printer, and binder to heed the prohibitions or to meet the forfeitures.

It does not appear at what precise time it was definitely resolved to establish separate religious assemblies, but it must have been before the month of August;[1] and it was probably soon after, and hastened by, this decree. A letter of Bullinger, about the lawfulness of wearing the habits, which Grindal had published in Latin and in English, had had great influence. Some of the clergy, who had resolved to leave the ministry rather than to comply in this thing, were induced by the reasonings of the Helvetian doctor to change their minds; and many of the common people to abandon all thoughts of separation.[2]

But there were others who could not consent to use or to countenance the Popish ceremonies of the Church, and especially the habits, which, being constantly before the eyes of the people, were the most harmful in their influence. These men, having been baffled in their devices to hear Coverdale and other "ministers who would not obey their suspensions," had held solemn consultations about "the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the Established Church"; and had at last deliberately resolved to do so. They had hesitated awhile whether to use

[1] Strype's Grindal, 105.

[2] Zurich Letters, No. CXI., Grindal to Bullinger, Aug., 1566; No. CXXI., Grindal and Horn to Bullinger and Gualter, Feb., 1566–7. Strype's Parker, 229; Grindal, 105, 106.

in their worship "as much of the Common Prayer and service of the Church as was not offensive"; or, instead thereof, "the book framed at Geneva for the congregation of the English exiles there, which was mostly taken out of the Genevan form." After free debate, the latter had been chosen as most consonant to the Holy Scriptures. From this time they had continued to worship by themselves; meeting in private houses, barns, and sometimes in the woods, or other secluded spots in the neighboring country, where they had prayers, sermons, and the ministration of the sacraments.[1]

But these proceedings could not long remain concealed. The bishops heard of them, and were startled. To reach the yet unknown offenders, an earnest remonstrance and exhortation, supposed to have been written by Cox or Jewel, was issued anonymously from the press.[2] The queen, highly incensed by so bold a departure from the order of her Church, and so flagrant a slight upon her supremacy and laws, immediately issued letters to her Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and to the Bishop of London in particular, commanding them to discover the offenders and to reclaim them to their parish churches, by gentle means if possible; and if these failed, to assure them, that they should be deprived of the freedom of the city for their first punishment, and for the next, abide other penalties.[3]

This order of the queen, being designed and used only for the Commissioners, was not known to those

[1] Strype's Parker, 241; Grindal, 114. Camden, 192. Collier, VI. 443. Carte, III. 495. Neal I. 104.

[2] Strype's Parker, 220.

[3] Ibid., 242; Grindal, 115.

whom it threatened; and, had it been, would not, probably, have turned them from a course so deliberately and seriously adopted. They continued their assemblies with as much caution and secrecy as possible. In the mean time, the bills introduced to Parliament, "touching reformation of matters of religion and church government," had failed.[1] For nearly a year, these separatists appear to have met only in the suburbs of London. But at length, growing more bold, they ventured to do so within the city itself[2]; and on the 19th of June, 1567, occupied the hall in Anchor Lane[3] belonging to the Company of the Plumbers. It had been hired by them for the day, of the woman who had it in charge, under pretence of a wedding.

About a hundred were assembled. The clergymen present were Christopher Coleman, John Benson, Thomas Rowland, and Robert Hawkins, all of whom "*had been* beneficed" within the diocese of London, but were now deprived.[4] The sudden appearance of sheriffs at their door arrested their worship, and threw them into consternation. Thirty-one of them — twenty-four men and seven women[5] — were seized and hurried to the Compter prison.

The next day, two of the ministers, Rowland and

[1] D'Ewes, 185. Strype's Parker, 220.

[2] Brook, I. 29.

[3] Stow's Survey, 442.

[4] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 81; who adds to these, as a clergyman, the name of William White. But he was a layman. Neal, I. 104, 109, note. Brook, I. 145, note L, 147.

[5] Strype, in his Life of Parker (p. 242), says, "fourteen or fifteen were sent to prison"; yet in his Life of Grindal (p. 136), apparently referring to the same company, he gives the number discharged as twenty-four men and seven women. Neal says, "*most* of them," i. e. of the hundred, "were committed to custody." So says Brook. Yet both give the number discharged only thirty-one.

Hawkins, and four of the laymen, Smith, Nixson, White, and Ireland, were brought before Grindal, Bishop of London, Goodman, Dean of Westminster; Dr. Archdeacon Watts, Sir Roger Martin, Lord Mayor of London, and their associates, — all the queen's Commissioners. They were immediately put upon examination, on the charge of meeting for prayer, preaching, and the sacraments, contrary to the act of Parliament, and of withdrawing from their parish churches. At the opening of their examination, the Bishop showed them the queen's letter,[1] and reproved them for the deceit they had practised to get possession of the Hall. To this it was replied, that they did so to save the woman harmless who let it to them. Grindal told them plainly, that, whatever their object, it was lying; and that they had hereby put the woman to great blame, and exposed her to the loss of her office, which was against the rule of charity.[2]

"Have you not the Gospel truly preached in the Church established by law?" he continued. "Have we not the sacraments duly administered, and good order preserved? albeit, in ceremonies that be indifferent, which the prince hath a right to order, we follow not some other of the Reformed churches. What say you, Smith? you seem to be the ancientest."

"My lord, we thank God for the Reformation. What we desire is only, that all may be according to the Word of God.[3] As long as we could have

[1] It is from this fact only that I have inferred, as stated above, that the queen's letter was unknown to them, and had not been made public.

[2] Strype's Parker, 242; Grindal, 115.

[3] Strype's Grindal, 115.

the Word preached freely, and the sacrament administered without the preferring of idolatrous gear about it, we never assembled in private houses. But when it came to this point, that all our preachers were displaced by your law that would not subscribe to the apparel and law, so that we could hear none of them in any church by the space of seven or eight weeks, except Father Coverdale,[1] who at length durst not make known unto us where he preached, and when we were troubled in your courts from day to day for not coming to our parish churches,[2] we resolved to meet privately together."[3]

"This is no answer," replied the Bishop. "This is no sufficient reason for not going to church, as ye are required to do."

"Would your Lordship have us go backward in religion? Yet I had as lief go to Mass, as to some churches; ay, my lord, as lief to Mass as to my own parish church, for the minister be a very Papist."[4]

"And I," said Nixson, "know one that persecuted God's saints in Queen Mary's time, and brought them before Bonner; and yet now he is a minister allowed of in the Church, though he hath never made recantation."[5]

Others of the prisoners said the same of other ministers. Indeed it was but too true, that the bishops, or rather the law, by which the bishops were guided, while ejecting Protestant preachers, allowed Popish priests in the ministry, on the single

[1] Strype's Grindal, 116.
[2] Brook, I. 135.
[3] Strype's Grindal, 116.
[4] Brook, I. 135.
[5] Strype's Annals, I. 264.

condition of conformity and subscribing to the doctrine of the Established Church. It was notorious, also, that "these perjured hypocrites, bearing two faces under one hood," encouraged their parishioners, as much as they durst, to favor Popery.[1]

"Troth!" exclaimed the Dean of Westminster, "they account the service and reformation in the days of good King Edward, of blessed memory, no better than the Mass!"

"Or else," said the Bishop, "they judge all ministers Popish because they find here and there one so. But," turning to the prisoners, "ye may go to other places, where they minister who will give you none offence."

"Do but make inquisition, my lord," replied White, a sturdy citizen of London and a man of fortune,[2] "and you shall find a great company of Papists in this very city whom you hold in the ministry, while you thrust out others who are both godly and learned."

"Canst accuse any such of false doctrine?"

"Ay, that can I," replied Nixson; "and he one now present in this Court. Let him come forth, an he be not ashamed, and answer to his preaching rank Papistry from the tenth chapter of John's Gospel. There he standeth, my lord," pointing out the man among the by-standers. "Master Bedell is the man. He is one of your Popish ones, my lord."

Bedell hung his head at the accusation; but answered not a word. The Bishop and the other Commissioners looked upon one another as if perplexed;

[1] Strype's Annals, I. 264, 265. [2] Brook, I. 145, note.

but they took no further notice of the charge.[1] The Dean of Westminster diverted attention from a matter so embarrassing.

"You seem," said he, "to question both the authority of the prince in appointing, and the liberty of a Christian man in using, such things in divine worship as are indifferent."

"Of a truth ye do," added the Bishop; "and for so doing ye suffer justly."

"Not so, my lord," replied Hawkins. "We would not minish aught either of princely authority or of Christian liberty. Howbeit, it doth *in no wise belong* to princely authority to command, nor to Christian liberty to use, nor to either to defend, that which pertaineth to Papistry and idolatry."

"Do you ever hear us maintain such things?" challenged the Dean.

"We allow we do not *hear* you. Nevertheless, by your doings and by your laws, ye do it. You preach Christ to be a prophet and a priest, but not to be a king. Ye allow not that he reigneth in his Church *alone*, by the sceptre of his Word; for, by your rule, the Pope's canon law[2] and the will of the prince must be preferred before — that is to say, must *govern* — the preaching of the Word and the ministering of ordinances."

"Prithee, what is so preferred?" asked the Bishop.

[1] Grindal's Remains (Parker Soc.), 204. Brook, I. 136, note.

[2] "The canon law seemed yet to be in some force, which contained many things in it directly favoring the Bishop of Rome and his superstitions; and therefore a learned canonist about this time" — 1562 — "wrote a tract for the regulation of the canonists and of the said canon law . . . . . for the queen and this Parliament to take into consideration." — Strype's Annals, I. 532.

"Your laws, your copes, your surplices," answered Nixson; "for ye suffer none to preach or to administer, except they wear these things, and subscribe a promise to wear them."

"Not so!" exclaimed the Bishop; "not so! What say you of Sampson and Lever, — of Fox, and Humphrey, and Coverdale? They neither wear the habits, nor subscribe. Yet do they not preach?"

"Of a truth, they preach, and they preach the truth, my lord," interposed White. "Yet some of them you have deprived; and your law standeth in force against them all. You suffer *them;* but others, though sound in doctrine, you do not suffer. For what cause ye do make *this difference*, it passeth me to know."

"Sampson, Fox, and others, will not preach among such as you, who separate from the Church," retorted the Bishop.

"My lord, your doings are the cause why they will not."

"Neither will they join with *you*," added Hawkins. "One of them told me, that he would rather be torn into an hundred pieces than communicate with you after your forms.[1] We neither hold to, nor allow, anything not contained in God's Word. This is the marrow of our offence. This is the point whence you and we part. If you think that we hold not to that which is true and right, show it to us, and we will renounce it."

"You are not obedient to the authority of the prince," said the Dean.

"Indeed we are," replied White; "for we resist

[1] Strype's Parker, 243.

not, but suffer what the authority seeth fit to lay on us."

"So do thieves," rejoined the Bishop.

"What a comparison, my lord! They, for evil-doing; we, for serving God according to his Word!"

"Both prince and people," said Nixson, "ought to obey the Word of God."

"True," replied the Bishop; "but obedience consisteth of three points. First, that which God commandeth may not be left undone. Second, that which God forbiddeth may not be done. Third, that which God hath neither commanded nor forbidden, — indifferent things, — princes have authority to appoint and command."

"Let that be proved to us, my lord, if it can." "My lord, where find you that doctrine?" exclaimed the prisoners.

"Of a truth!" exclaimed the Bishop in amazement, "I have talked with many persons touching this matter, yet I never saw any behave themselves so irreverently before magistrates." And he would not debate the point.[1]

"Pray, my lord," said Smith, "how can those things be indifferent that be *abominable?*"

"You mean our caps and tippets, which you say came from Rome?"

"Troth, my lord," responded Ireland. "They belong to the Papists; to the Papists throw them."

"You would have us use nothing which the Papists have used? Then, forsooth, we must needs use no churches, seeing the Papists used them," said Dr. Watts.

[1] Neal, I. 109.

"Christ did cast the buyers and sellers, and their wares, out of the temple," rejoined White; "yet was not the temple overthrown, for all that."

"Moreover," added Hawkins, "churches are necessary to keep our bodies from the rain; but copes and surplices are superstitious and idolatrous."

The Bishop insisted that "things not forbidden of God might be used for the sake of order and obedience."

To which Hawkins replied, "But not the ceremonies of Antichrist, my lord; to which you have brought the Gospel and its ordinances into bondage, thereby defending idolatry and Papistry."

After some desultory conversation about the opinions and usages of the Church of Geneva, Hawkins remarked, "By your severities, you *drive* us into a separation *against our wills*."

"My lord," said Nixson, "let us answer to your first question,—whether the Gospel be not truly preached in the Church established."

"Say on, Nixson."

"We do not refuse your communion and worship, on pretence that you preach not the Word of God; but because you have tied the ceremonies of Antichrist to your ministry, and set them *before* it, so that no man may preach or administer the sacraments *without* them. It is the *compelling these things by law that hath made* us separate.[1] Before you *compelled* the ceremonies, all was quiet."

At last Sir Richard Martin said, apparently wearied with this rambling conversation: "Well, good people, I wish you would wisely consider these things, and

[1] Strype's Parker, 241.

be obedient to the queen's good laws, that so you may live quietly and have liberty. I am sorry that you are troubled; but I am an officer under my prince, therefore blame not me. The queen hath not established these garments and other things, for the sake of any holiness in them; only for civil order and comeliness, and because she would have ministers known from other men, as aldermen are known by their tippets, judges by their red gowns, and noblemen's servants by their liveries. Therefore ye will do well to take heed and obey."

"Philip Melancthon hath well said," replied Hawkins, "that when the opinion of holiness, or of merit, *or of necessity*, is put to things in themselves indifferent, they ought always to be taken away."

"But," said the Bishop, "these things are not commanded *as necessary* in the Church."

"Say you so, my lord? So be it. But the commandment *maketh* them necessary, as many a poor man doth feel."

"As you say, my lord," said Nixson, resuming his dialogue with the Lord Mayor,—"as you say that the alderman is known by his tippet, even so have Mass-priests been known from other men by this very apparel which you command. Thus you would compel us to wear that which meaneth 'Mass-priest.'"

"What a great matter you make of it!" said the Dean of Westminster.

"There be good men and good martyrs that did wear these things in King Edward's day," said the Bishop. "Do you condemn them, Nixson?"

"We condemn them not. However, we would go on to a more perfect way. Nevertheless, the best of

them who maintained the habits did recant for it at their death; as Ridley, Bishop of London, and Dr. Taylor. Ridley did acknowledge his fault in this thing to Dr. Hooper; and when the Papists would have put the apparel upon him in order to strip it off,—being the ceremony of deposing him,—he said the dress was *abominable*."

"Many," interposed Hawkins, "were burned in the time of Mary, for standing against Popery as we do now."

"I myself have said Mass," observed the Bishop. "I am sorry for it."

"Nevertheless," said Ireland, "your lordship still goeth dressed like one of the mass-priests."

"You see me wear cope and surplice in St. Paul's. I would *rather minister without them*, only for the sake of order, and obedience to my prince."

After other conversation had followed, the Dean of Westminster said, "Do we hold heresy? Do we deny any article of faith? Do we maintain purgatory, or pilgrimage? No. We hold the reformation that was in King Edward's days."

"You build much of King Edward's time," replied White. "Yet, though it was the best time of reformation in the realm, all was confined to one prescript order of service, patched together out of the Popish matins, even-song, and mass-book."

"And they of that time never made a law such as now is, that none should preach or minister *without* the garments," added Nixson.[1]

[1] "This godly king," Edward VI., "..... set forth a new form of prayers, removed and prohibited all the monuments of superstition which he had before left, excepting the surplice and kneeling at the Lord's Supper, baptizing by women and demanding of infants a profession of

"We have a gracious prince, who maketh the law," said the Dean of Westminster.

"May God preserve her Majesty and Council!" heartily responded the prisoners.[1]

These parts — and they are only parts — of a conversation so singular under the circumstances, bring distinctly to view some important points both of difference and of agreement between the Church Precisians and the Non-conformists, and also between the Church Precisians and this new school of Puritans. Grindal's position is clearly defined, — in private judgment and in heart, a Puritan; in civil policy and loyal obedience only, a Precisian; charitable towards those who scrupled the garments, but revolting at the movement of separation. As clearly defined is the position of the offenders; — in heart, loyal and conscientious; and claiming their rights as "the Lord's freedmen," only when "driven" to the wall by religious despotism.

At the close of the conference, the prisoners were exhorted to forbear their religious assemblies; but it being evident to the Commissioners that they would not do so, they, with the others who were arrested with them, were sent to the Bridewell prison, "at the commandment of the queen."[2]

faith. What he retained, however, was left so free, that *no one who objected to them was compelled to observe them.*" — Zurich Letters, No. CXXX.; Geo. Withers to the Elector Palatine. (Strype's Whitgift, 196, "Article VI.")

[1] I derive my sketch of this "examination" — so called — from Strype's Grindal, and from Brook, Vol. I., Article "Hawkins," and from "The Remains of Grindal" (Parker Soc.), pp. 201–216; interweaving the language of each, and some slight modifications of my own, as I have thought necessary to express truthfully and clearly the opinions uttered upon the occasion.

[2] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 81. Camden, 107. Strype's Parker, 243. Brook, I. 151.

Grindal, who respected their conscientiousness, strove to gain them to his views of "order and obedience to the prince." Failing in this, and pitying their sufferings, he interceded for them with Mr. Secretary Cecil; urging sagaciously, that, were they freely liberated with only a grave admonition, there would be more reason to hope for their compliance, than by persisting in the severity of punishment. In consequence of this intercession, the Lords of the Council sent an order of release, dated April 28th, 1568,[1] the prisoners being warned, however, of greater severity, should they repeat their factious and disorderly behavior.[2] Accordingly, they were called before the Bishop on the 3d of May, and discharged; having been confined ten and a half months.[3]

That a few scores of men and women should have associated to worship God apart from the assemblies, and without the forms established by law, is in itself a trifle on the page of history. As an attempt at righteous liberty, it was a seedling which — though it afterwards grew to imposing stature and strength — was sheared down at the moment of its appearing. Instead, therefore, of noting at this point how it took root deeper and better for the operation, or anticipating its revival and development, it is well to consider the stimulating influences to which it owed its origin.

[1] Strype's Grindal, 155.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Neal says, "above a year. Brook, "two years; discharged April, 1569." But Strype, in his Life of Grindal, p. 136, says, "about twelve months"; and on pp. 154, 155, in letters then written, we have the date of the Council's Order, April 28th, 1568, and the date of release May 3d, 1568.

The Puritans — particularly the more strenuous, who were styled by way of distinction "the hot Puritans" — were stigmatized as foolishly fastidious about trifles. The grounds on which they retorted that these trifles were no trifles, have been shown in our sketch of Hooper's argument, and onward, through this last examination of the offenders of the Plumbers' Hall. In brief, they held, that the surplice was a distinctive badge of a corrupt, false, idolatrous Church; that its use would be construed, to their soul's hurt, by the weak and vacillating, as a tacit approval of her errors; that kneeling at the sacrament might readily be taken as an act of adoration implying the real presence and sacrifice of Christ's body; that the like was true of certain other prescribed ceremonies; and that, therefore, these things — trifles in themselves — became elevated, by their associations and connections, to the rank of usages grave and dangerous, contrary to the standard of faith, offensive to God, and as incongruous to his worship as any of the rites of Paganism.

With the mere logic of this reasoning we have now nothing to do. Leaving its analysis to schoolmen and casuists, let us consider simply whether its conclusion was, or was not, sustained by collateral facts.

One of the first steps taken by Elizabeth after she was proclaimed queen, was the settling of the religion of the state, — under the circumstances a very delicate affair. For this purpose, she consulted only Sir William Cecil and Sir Thomas Smith;[1] by

[1] Lloyd, 562.

whose advice she selected certain divines, whom she charged to shape, from King Edward's Book of Common Prayer, a Platform of Religion to be submitted to herself, and, "having her approbation, to be put into the Parliament." The work was to be done, not according to their Christian judgment, — nor was it, — but according to her Majesty's mind. That they might know this fully, they were under the constant "direction" of Sir William Cecil, her confidant and oracle in matters of state. That they might construct their work with legal accuracy, Sir Thomas Smith was associated with them, being a learned doctor of the civil law.[1] This business the queen arranged secretly, without the advice, or even knowledge, of her Privy Council; and the result was submitted to her review and approbation, some time in the last month of her first Parliament.[2] Thus the forms of the Church Establishment were entirely decided upon at "the dormant council-table of her own princely breast"; and adjusted at her dictation, before it was known outside of Sir Thomas's house in Chanon Row what form of religion would be elected. After its construction by the divines, the new Liturgy was, indeed, laid before three or four noblemen for their perusal; but this was only "to give it a further reputation."[3]

It has been already stated,[4] that it was her command to this committee to conform the Book of Common Prayer as nearly as possible to the dogmas and forms of Popery, without making it positively

[1] Strype's Grindal, 22, 23; Annals, I. 75, 76, 119, 120.
[2] Collier, VI. 249.
[3] Collier, VI. 199, 200. Camden, 16. Strype's Annals, I. 76.
[4] Chap. VIII.

Papistical. This was mere state policy. Her command was, of course, obeyed; and the Form of Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments — before culled out of the Popish Mass-Book — was made yet more "passable amongst the Papists."[1] The Act of Uniformity relapsed also; ordaining "such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof as were by authority of Parliament in the *second* year of King Edward VI."[2] So true was this visible approximation to Popery, that Cecil could afterwards commend the divine service of the English Church to the Romish judgment of the French ambassador, for its nearness to that of his own Church. So also said the queen, in her instructions to her own ambassador at the French Court.[3] Nor was this

[1] Strype's Annals, III. 293, Append. Bk. I. No. XIX. Heyl. Ref., 283. Heyl. Presb., Bk. I. Sec. 16; Bk. VI. Sec. 12, 30.

[2] 1 Eliz. Cap. II. Sec. XIII.

[3] The documents here referred to are so remarkable, that I transcribe so much of them as relates to the matter in the text. "If he" — the Duke of Anjou — "should be our husband, he should accompany us to the church; and why he should not or may not use our manner of prayers and divine service, certainly we think no reason can be yielded by any that knoweth the same, and will compare it to that which the Church of Rome doth use; for in ours, there is no part that hath not been, yea, that is not at this day, used in the Church of Rome, ..... and if anything be more in ours, the same is part of the Holy Scripture." — The Queen to Walsingham, May, 1571. (Digges, 98.)

"Then I answered" (the French Ambassador), "setting out the nearness of ours" (our religious services) "to such as was good and sound in the Roman; adding, that we omitted nothing but those which were impious and doubtful to be against the Scripture." — Burleigh to Walsingham, May, 1571. (Digges, 100.)

"If the form" (the English form) "of religion were considered by them" (the French Court), "..... it should be found that there is nothing in the same contrary to the Roman religion, differing only, that the same is translated out of the Latin tongue into the English, so as whosoever shall use the same service cannot be accounted without religion, nor to do anything repugnant to the Roman religion." — From "A Summary of Answers made by the Queen's Majesty to the French Ambassador and Mr. l'Archant to

all; for so great was the likeness of the two, that the old Popish priests of Queen Mary found nothing in the divine service to offend their scruples, and continued still to retain their places by its use, saying that to do so "was not a thing *malum in se*";[1] and at this very time the Papists, generally, attended the worship, and remained in the communion, of the English Church.[2] Bonner's sneer, "If they sup of our broth, they will soon eat of our beef," has already been cited. Nor was the sarcastic taunt of another Papist impertinent, that "the English drove the Pope out of England so hastily, that they forced him to leave his garments behind him; and now they put them on, and, like so many players acting their parts, they dance in them by way of triumph."[3] Moreover, learned English Papists have justified their own Church and religion, by appealing to the adoption of their ceremonies by the English Church; and hence have even argued that Elizabeth herself was in heart a Papist.[4] But, more than by all these things, the real fitness of the English ritual to sustain the heresies and superstitions of Popery is proved by this one fact, — that the counsellors of Pius IV. had advised him, so lately as in 1563 or 1564, to confirm the English Liturgy, with some — probably slight — alterations, upon the single condition that the queen should acknowledge its Romish authority.[5] And, though we presume this was known

their Message and Request." (Digges, 113.)

[1] Butler, I. 310.

[2] D'Ewes, 35. The Queen's Declaration in the Star-Chamber in 1570; Strype's Annals, II. 371.

[3] Pierce, 50.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Strype's Annals, II. 55.

A like proposal was reported — but without seeming authority — to have been made to Elizabeth by

at the time only to the queen and her confidants, it proves just as truly and forcibly, that the analogy between the externals of the two Churches was by no means imaginary.

Nor should it be forgotten, that in the English Church these externals, with their tendencies, were sustained and enforced by authority, under circumstances which rendered their influence peculiar, and peculiarly dangerous, for it was in a day of deplorable religious ignorance; — when the mass of the people might be easily led astray; when the old, corrupt religion was still venerated by multitudes; when many others were yet halting between two opinions; and when Popery was vigorously and covertly at work throughout the realm to recover the English Church and to revolutionize the government.

In the alembic of the day, vapors became solids; chaff, poison; stubble, steel.

Such were the Puritan's justifying facts. Collectively, they verify his theoretic scruples, and demonstrate the soundness of his objections. They show clearly that he was not moved to remonstrance and dissent by squeamish conceits, or a love of "singularity," but by an intended, real, *outward* similitude between his own Church and that of Rome; a similitude grateful, because complaisant to the latter, and tending to the corruption and lapse of the former; a similitude which was a conniving at idolatry and

Pius IV. in 1560. (Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 69.) Osborne, in his Traditional Memoirs, p. 35, states positively that this offer was made. Echard also says that Pius IV. declared: "He would humble himself even to heresy itself, in regard that whatsoever was done to gain souls to Christ, did become that See." (p. 797.)

damnable lies, a snare to the weak, an offence unto God.[1] Such facts are bone and flesh and thew to the *first* argument of the non-conforming Puritan; and this, crossed by the plea that, "Rome being renounced, her symbols became indifferent, and therefore by command of the prince obligatory," was the crossing of the sword with the bulrush. However it might satisfy minds less perceptive and sensitive, or more tamely feudal than his own, to the Puritan it was but the shadow of a plea; and stung by the implication of disloyalty, he bounded instinctively for foothold upon the outer verge of Liberty, and retorted with his *second* argument, — that royalty overtopping the Statute-Book of God, was royalty no longer; that loyalty may refuse to follow, but be

[1] Perhaps the gravity of the Puritan objections, at that time, to the episcopal vestments and ceremonies, cannot be more succinctly and pertinently expressed, than in a letter to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, written in 1571. "If the Turk decree the ceremonies of Moses and the attire of Aaron, for his own ceremonies and attire, they would be Moses' and Aaron's still. Then no proclamation or law can dispossess Antichrist, the Pope, from his ceremonies and attire. What were his twenty years ago will be his still, though a thousand proclamations command the contrary. . . . . In respect of the use, form, fashion, and end whereunto they were and are appointed, they are unlawful, proceeding from Antichrist. What estimate shall the servant get by wearing the badge and cognizance of his master's deadly foe?" — Strype's Annals, Appendix, Bk. I. No. XII.

So also reasoned Zanchy, in a letter to the queen, in 1571. "Who would endure his enemy's coat of arms in his house, and especially in the most honorable place? . . . . . Suppose your Most Serene Majesty were to issue a decree, that every Englishman should lay aside his ancient dress . . . . . and put on the Turkish robe, . . . . . who would commend such a decree as a proper one? Much less is it to be commended that godly bishops be required," &c. — Zurich Letters, No. CLVIII; — an elaborate letter, presenting clearly and with great force the argument against the vestiarian laws. This collection of letters *abounds* in strong points against those laws, made by different divines of Germany and Switzerland, — points too numerous even for reference.

loyal still; that there is a field — how long or broad he could not then say — belonging to none but the Christian man and Christ, where the disciple was, and of right ought to be, *Free*, and where no law even of the mightiest monarch could bind him.

It is evident, therefore, that the Puritans' refusal to conform had its foundation, not in frivolous or visionary scruples, but in substantial reasons. But the omission of a garment or of a ceremony was a breach of order, an ecclesiastical offence, for which ecclesiastical discipline was proper. Thus, in the regular course of things, the non-conformist was subjected to a *second* repelling and impulsive influence, — punishment; the nature and tendency of which are worth a moment's reflection.

That every Church has a conventional right to establish its own government, to frame its own rules, to fix its own forms of worship, and to discipline its disorderly members, no one will dispute. If an offender will not be reclaimed by remonstrance or censure to a regular observance of its laws, he may justly be disowned and excluded from the brotherhood.[1] Thus, strictly speaking, the Puritan clergy

[1] It may be objected here — and particularly in regard to the laity — that the Church of England, because not a voluntary association, lacked a primary element of the visible Christian Church; that its members became such by natural birth, and were sworn to religious fealty only by assumed proxy, — godfathers and godmothers. But gross as it is to suppose the accident of birth to make one a member of the Church of Christ, it did make one a member of the English Church. Her "conventional" right to discipline the ecclesiastical offender was the same as that of the magistrate to punish the offender against the state's laws, who became amenable thereto by the same accident of birth. To act out the convictions of conscience or of private judgment in matters of religion was, in the vocabulary of the day, to act against the safety of her Majesty's person and the realm. So wrote

who would not conform to the rules of worship and to the dress enjoined by the Church of England, were, according to all ecclesiastical usage, justly debarred from officiating as ministers of *that* Church. By her prerogative, the queen might ordain ceremonies at will; and though she should have ordained the most oppressive and even absurd, — which the minister would have had the *Christian* right to spurn, — still she would have had the technical right to deprive him of his office and of his living.

But she went further. She forbade the non-conforming clergy to preach the Word or to minister the Sacraments within her realm *at all*. If they did so, she fined them, — imprisoned them. Had she a right to do this? According to Christ and common humanity, no. According to the Statute, yes. It was so nominated in the bond. Not only was conformity a condition of office and of its revenue, but the non-conformist was at issue with the crown. Legally, he was a criminal. Legal justice — we do not say, just law — deposed him from all Christian ministry in the Established Church, — and the law knew no other, — and adjudged him to the pains of mulct and a prison. For him, the crown had no grace. He must undo his convictions, or violate an enlightened conscience, or suffer as it was written by the law. The crown demanded the former. He chose the latter. The crown was justified by the law of the realm; the culprit, by the Gospel of Christ.

At the outset, her Majesty might easily have composed the differences between the Establishment and

the Lords of the Council to Bishop Chaderton, May 28, 1581. (Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. I. Bk. III. No. XXXI.)

the Puritans,[1] by yielding what even the most rigid Churchmen granted to be unimportant; for they who refused the ecclesiastical habits required, were willing to wear such as would distinguish them from the laity, — one reason given for the canonical garments, — if they might only "keep clear from the robe of Antichrist."[2] But the moment she put forward the letter and authority of the law, she so entangled her prerogative with caps and copes, consciences and common sense, that she must either yield to its dishonor, or do battle in its defence.

There is a spot in every human heart which flinches from the touch of authority; and no one is fit to govern who does not ware it. "Shall" and "shall not," wake up "will not" and "will"; and the latter go to asleep again — if at all — only when good sense and humanity justify the commandment. Hence, if a law be not thus justified; if, too, it be burdensome or annoying to the subject; and if, more than all, it be based only and avowedly upon the whim and will of the prince, — it would be passing strange if resistance and disobedience should not follow. Nay, the surest and stoutest resistance will be, not from the sycophantic, the timid, the little-minded, the obtuse, but from the upright, the manly, the clear-sighted; and if the requisitions of the law be puerile and frivolous, as well as burdensome and annoying, so much the more — not so much the less — will they battle it. In such a quarrel, preciseness and littleness pertain, not to him who resents, but to him who commands. And when, superadded to all

[1] Murdin, 262; The Dean of York to Burleigh. Neal, I. 104, 105.

[2] Strype's Parker, 157; Whittingham to Leicester.

this, some great principle is involved, — as that of conscience or religious liberty, — the more protracted and desperate will be the struggle; for both are strong, but the prince is weaker than the subject. It was so in this case. The strife was long and terrible; yet Uniformity was never established.

The compulsory policy of the queen wrought its natural effects. Nervously jealous for "the chiefest flower in her garden, the head pearl in her diadem,"[1] which she had compromised for the sake of "trifles," — against the wishes of her prelates and the judgment of her counsellors,[2] — she invoked Severity to sustain Supremacy. She drave men to the wall who had never dreamed of resisting the will of their sovereign, and *thus* forced them to ask in amazement, "Is *this* the liberty wherewith Christ maketh free?" Thus, also, she forced them to ask, "Where beginneth the freedom of the Gospel, and where endeth the authority of the prince?" a question of whose greatness and bearing they had then no conception, and the last, in policy, which she should have stirred. A petulant, imperious woman smote the flint upon the tempered steel, and the first spark of Liberty was stricken out. For present purposes, it gave light enough to the bewildered inquirers. They saw the sovereign overstepping the bounds of sovereignty and refused obedience. Here a part of them halted, and submitted meekly to punishment, though not to conformity; while others, bolder and more sturdy, advanced another step, revolted from the school of discipline to which they were subjected, and parted from the communion in which

[1] D'Ewes, 547. [2] Zurich Letters, pp. 263, 264.

they had been reared. Despotism defeated itself. In seeking to coerce unity, Elizabeth compelled Separation. For this were meted out greater severities. Yet neither did these exceed the power claimed by the crown, however much, at any time, beyond the punishment prescribed by statute, and however repugnant to sound policy.

It is said by an historian, that the queen's threat, in her letter to the Commissioners about the Separatists, "was a vast stretch of the prerogative, there being no law, as yet, to disfranchise a man for not coming to church."[1] But the royal prerogative of ordaining rites and ceremonies not ordained by statute,[2] implied the prerogative of *punishing* as not ordained by statute.[3] So the queen understood it; and so understanding it, she delegated to her Commissioners this discretionary power of punishing, together with the other executive powers of her supremacy. By the very letter of the Act of Uniformity, to say nothing of the Act of Supremacy, her ecclesiastical law-making power was vastness itself, — of which *expansion* cannot be predicated, — for that power had not even nominal check or limit save "the advice of her Commissioners, or of her metropolitan"; and neither Commissioner nor metropolitan — Grindal excepted — had any rule of "advice" but her Majesty's will.[4]

[1] Neal, I. 108.

[2] 1 Eliz. Cap. II. Sec. XIII.

[3] Blackstone, IV. 122, 123.

[4] Naunton, (in the Phœnix,) 184. Macaulay says truly, (Vol. I. p. 27,) that "the king could not legislate without the consent of his Parliament"; and Hume observes, (Vol. III. Chap. XLI. p. 127,) that "Prerogative in general, especially the Supremacy, was supposed in that age" — Elizabeth's — "to involve powers which no law, precedent, or reason could limit and determine." But the supremacy of Elizabeth was not "supposed," but *known*, to involve indeterminate powers. Nor was her law-making prerogative in

But law-making power is a myth without the power to enforce by punishment. Therefore the power by which, through her commissioners, she would disfranchise or imprison, irrespective of statute penalty, she continued to exercise; and it was formally declared by the highest legal authority that the power to *imprison* for not coming to church — a penalty not in the law — was *contained* in the Act of Supremacy, when, thirteen years afterwards, it seems to have been questioned.[1] Supremacy, like perfection and infinity, does not admit of degrees. It cannot be "stretched," either in making law by mere proclamation, or in punishing at will, — both of which Elizabeth was accustomed to do.

We have thus noticed the remark just quoted as

ecclesiastical matters supposed to inhere to the crown, as though she could legislate therein "without the consent of her Parliament." It was specially *donated* by the Act of Supremacy, and it was *only* as a donation that she claimed it. (Strype's Whitgift, 260.) The same Parliament (Cap II. Sec. XIII.) *had* "consented," in advance, to any injunction or injunctions which she might issue with the advice of her Commissioners or metropolitan; thus forearming any transcript of her will with the full sanction and force of positive law. This was very definite limitlessness, — around which no other law, no precedent, no reason, *could* draw a line.

[1] In 1580, an exposition was required of the punitive powers of the Queen's Commissioners; particularly with reference to those who refused *to come to church*. Upon which occasion "the Judges of the realm and divers civilians" gave the following opinion.

"By statute *anno primo* of Elizabeth, Commissioners of ecclesiastical causes have authority to inflict *any* punishment, by mulct or otherwise, which the ecclesiastical law allows; *because* all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority is by the same statute annexed to the crown; and, by the same, full power given her Majesty to commit the same to such persons as shall please her." — Desid. Curiosa, Vol. I. Bk. III. No. XIII.

This opinion was particularly intended — as will be seen by consulting the preceding paper, No. XII. — to sanction and justify *imprisonment;* pecuniary punishment, which only the statute prescribed, having proved ineffectual.

though it were proper in its application to the case in hand. But it is not. True, disfranchisement was not the described penalty for the offence committed. It is also true, that the punishment inflicted had no more reference than disfranchisement to the statute penalty. But neither threat nor punishment was for "not coming to church." They were for using forms of religious worship and ordinances "other than set forth in the Book of Common Prayer."[1]

We have seen that but *a part* of the non-conformists separated from the communion and worship of the Church, and have said that these were the bolder and more sturdy. In justice to both these parties, and indeed in justice to Elizabeth, this difference of behavior requires further notice.

It is perhaps impossible for us at this day, and in a country where for generations no relation has been recognized between the Church and the State, to understand with what profound veneration that relation — or rather, identity — was regarded in the times of which we write. For ages, it had been held as an axiom, that the magistrate was the custodian, or defender, of the Church; that the authority of each was interwoven; that it was a part of

[1] This was the *first* offence charged upon this party, of deserting their parish churches *and* adopting other than the established religious forms; that is, their first arraignment for conventicle worship.

The *clergymen* had previously been deprived for non-conformity. Therefore — being "not beneficed" — they were obnoxious to the last clause of Sec. II. of the Act of Uniformity, which prescribed imprisonment for a year.

The *lay* offenders, by the same act (Sec. III.), should have been sentenced only to a fine of one hundred marks; or, in default thereof, to imprisonment for six months.

The respondents, however, were not sentenced upon the statute, but upon the queen's special commandment.

his office to enforce her laws, so that the subject who varied from these came into collision with the authority of the prince. Nor did an ecclesiastical irregularity cease to be a civil offence when Henry revolted from Rome; for he had taken care to sever also the ecclesiastical establishment of his realm, and to make the sovereign of the State sovereign also of the Church. There was only this difference: whereas before the Crown was subordinate to the Church, now the Church was subordinate to the Crown; and thus an ecclesiastical irregularity was not only an offence against the Church and the State, but became a double offence against the single person of the prince.

The old idea of the unity of the Church — the whole Church Militant under one organization and a visible head — was still in a modified sense an article of Protestant orthodoxy. The unity itself had been destroyed by the Reformation. But an attempt had been made to gather the scattered fragments of Protestantism within a common fold, under a common discipline and common forms of worship. The scheme, though it failed, was still in process of negotiation,[1] and the idea was still held tenaciously

[1] About 1560, Calvin wrote to Archbishop Parker proposing a union of all Protestants, and that her Majesty should summon a General Assembly of such wherever dispersed; by which Assembly a form and method of public service and Church government might be established among all the Reformed Churches in England and elsewhere. Parker laid this communication before the Queen's Council who took it into consideration, and desired his Grace to thank Calvin, and to let him know that they liked his proposals. But they directed him further to state, that the Church of England would still retain her episcopacy, not as from Pope Gregory who sent over Augustin the monk, but from Joseph of Arimathea; as appeared by Gildas, printed first in 1525, and so far agreeing to Eleutherius, sometime Bishop of Rome,

as a doctrine, — practically and of necessity, however, narrowed down to the limits of each state, and in subjection to each magistracy. This unity was yet considered so sacred that, in the eyes of the whole Protestant world, communion and worship separate from those established by the state had very much the aspect both of a sacrilegious innovation and a civil revolt, — the more, if there were no serious differences of faith.

Hence it was that Grindal, Bishop of London, Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, Edward Deering, chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and one of the heads of the Puritans,[1] and others, conformed in the use of things to which they were religiously averse. Hence it was, that Coverdale and Lever, Humphrey, Sampson, Fox, Whittingham, Whitehead, and others, men of sterling worth and strong minds, while refusing the imposition of "linen and woollen, black and white, round and square," did so "with grief"; comforting themselves, however, with the thought, "that it was but an agreeing discord, seeing they all, under Christ their Captain, professed the same Gospel and the same faith."[2] Hence it was, that, while they could justify the omission of a rite by the plea of conscience, — for it was a *negative* fault, and at worst but a peccadillo, — they shrunk from ecclesiastical separation. Hence it was, that, being just

who acknowledged Lucius, King of Britain, *Christ's vicar within* his own dominions. (Strype's Parker, 69.) This design was continued at least so long as 1577, when a Council was assembled at Frankfort to devise means to carry it into effect. To this Council Queen Elizabeth sent her ambassador. But, as might have been foreseen, no result was obtained. (Strype's Annals, IV. 103.)

[1] Strype's Parker, 380.

[2] Ibid., 163.

now confirmed in their aversion to such a measure by the counsels of Bullinger, and of Beza, chief minister of the church at Zurich,[1] they not only clave to the communion and worship of the Established Church,[2] but would neither preach nor pray with those who did not.[3] Hence it was, that, while Grindal "went tenderly" about his official work of bringing peaceable non-conformists to compliance, "was not forward to use extremities,"[4] "would not run of himself, nay, would hardly answer the spur, in pressing conformity,"[5] he yet "thought himself bound" to use the severer measures of the law upon those who brake from the Church;[6] that Pilkington, though he would have relinquished his bishopric rather than have exercised in his own diocese the severities against mere non-conformists, was himself a strict Churchman;[7] that Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, so willing to allow liberty to the non-conformists as to incur the rebuke of his metropolitan,[8] was yet so stout an advocate of Church usages as also to incur the public rebuke of the Puritans.[9] Hence also it was, that in a few years there sprang up bitter controversy and upbraiding between the non-conformists who remained in the Church, and the non-conformists who separated.[10]

[1] Strype's Parker, 229, 243; Grindal, 105. Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 29, 37.

[2] Strype's Parker, 243; Grindal, 114.

[3] Strype's Parker, 243. Collier, VI. 443–445. See above, p. 311. Grindal to White, and Hawkins to Grindal.

[4] Strype's Grindal, 97, 105.

[5] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 81.

[6] Strype's Grindal, 295, 302.

[7] Zurich Letters, pp. 262, 264. Strype's Parker, 219. Neal, I. 100.

[8] Strype's Annals, III. 509, 510.

[9] Ibid., and Append., Bk. I. No. XII.

[10] Strype's Whitgift, 416; Aylmer, 112. Hanbury, I. 34, 49–61.

But while we should well weigh the restraining and depressing influences of old traditions and hoary usages, that we may do justice alike to those Puritans who halted short of non-conformity, and to those who would neither conform nor cross the threshold of separation, we must keep the same influences in view in order to appreciate the larger conceptions, stronger convictions, steadier principle, and greater daring, by dint of which alone the separating Puritans — struggling with their affection for their mother Church, and with loyalty untainted — could break from so potent a thraldom, to exalt the supremacy of the Bible above the supremacy of the prince.

Here, too, — in the figment of ecclesiastical unity, and in the blending of Church and State, — is to be found the only apology for the queen's severity towards non-conforming Protestants; for non-conformity had the *legal* complexion of disloyalty, and separation that of schism and revolt. And yet the apology is merely technical, because the Statute of Uniformity was but a transcript of her will; and with her sufferance, in her very metropolis, there were separate communions of Protestants who held no manner of conformity to the Liturgy established by law.[1]

[1] French, Dutch, and Italian Protestant refugees were constituted into distinct ecclesiastical establishments, by permission of the government, under the Genevan discipline and forms of worship, — the very discipline and worship which the Puritans desired. In the next year they numbered no less than five thousand in London and its suburbs. (Heylin's Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 19. Strype's Annals, II. 269.)

# CHAPTER XIII.

## THE PAPALINS.

THE POPE GRANTS DISPENSATIONS TO PREACH HERESY. — PAPIST PRIESTS TURN PURITAN PREACHERS. — THE PAPAL COUNCIL ADVISE THE ASSIGNMENT OF THE ENGLISH CROWN, A PREMIUM FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF ELIZABETH, AND A MORE EXTENSIVE LICENSE FOR HYPOCRISY AND PERJURY. — BULL AGAINST HERETICS GENERALLY. — A NEW IRRUPTION OF DISGUISED PRIESTS. — ONE OF THEM EXECUTED. — THE CATHOLICS BEGIN TO SECEDE. — THE HOLY LEAGUE FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF PROTESTANTS. — SEMINARIES FOR MISSIONARY PRIESTS. — A DOMICILIARY VISIT TO JOHN STOW, THE ANNALIST. — FUNERAL OF COVERDALE. — FUNERAL OF BONNER. — MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, IMPRISONED IN ENGLAND. — THE NORTHERN INSURRECTION. — THE PAPAL BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION AGAINST ELIZABETH.

### 1560–1570.

THE Church of England had become fixed. After sliding back a grade or two whence Edward had advanced her, she had assumed completeness and abjured progression. Not so the Puritans. Doubting that they had "already attained, either were already perfect," they were yet struggling against the meshes of superstition and tradition, and pressing towards the liberty wherewith Christ maketh free.

But, as the sword which was drawn against Nonconformity was two-handed and two-edged, smiting on the right hand and on the left, — in this direction the Puritan, in that the Papist, — it will hardly be possible to trace the farther advance of Protestant Dissenters without noting the parallel experience of the Papal. We therefore enter somewhat freely

upon the contemporary history of the English Romanists; and shall sometimes pause over a writhing Catholic by the wayside, partly that our account of the Puritans may be the more lucid, and partly that we may more truly gage the havoc which pertains by natural consequence to the union of Church and State.

The project of Calvin for bringing all Protestant Churches under a common form of worship and government, which he had propounded to the English cabinet in 1560,[1] had pestered the Roman Pontiff. The bruit of it had soon reached the wakeful ears of Pius IV., — just then seated in the Papal chair, — who instantly devised a scheme to balk the purpose of his Genevan adversary. This scheme was a wise one; to sow dissension among the several Protestant communions, thus to confound their counsels and forestall their concert.[2] For this purpose dispensations were granted to certain Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits, to put on the mask of heresy, and go forth among the heretics. It was their special errand, to preach any doctrines *contrary* to those of the See of St. Peter, and *alike* contrary to those prevailing where they might chance to be. If among Lutherans, they were to preach the doctrines of Calvin; if among Calvinists, the doctrines of Luther; if in England, the doctrines of the Anabaptists, of Huss, of Luther, of Calvin, — in short, any Protestant doctrines, however wild, which would distract the minds of the people, and seduce them from the established communion. The better to disguise themselves, and the better to avert suspicion

[1] See *ante*, p. 331, note.

[2] Strype's Parker, 70.

in this latter field, they were also allowed to take the oaths required by law, and to take wives; it being shrewdly argued, that, its English form being heretical, the marriage was no marriage, but, being intended for the good of the Church, a venial concubinage only, and no violation of the priestly vow of celibacy.[1]

This plan of operations was approved by the Council of Trent, who immediately sent out corresponding directions, particularly to the Jesuits in Paris.[2] Upon the granting of these dispensations, several priests, some of them foreigners, and some of them English refugees, entered upon the mission, came to England, and went about in Puritan guise, to excite odium against the Established Church.[3]

In 1563, it had been recommended by the Pope's counsellors, in case Elizabeth should not accede to terms of compromise with the Papal See,[4] that her realm should be offered by his Holiness to any crowned head who would undertake its conquest; that a pardon should be granted to any cook, brewer, vintner, physician, grocer, chirurgeon, or any other, who would make way with the queen of England, together with an absolute remission of sins, a perpetual annuity, and a seat in the Privy Council of her successor, to the heirs of the assassin; that priests of *any* Romish orders should be licensed to take such oaths as might be required of them in England, they

[1] Strype's Annals, I. 341.

[2] The Council of Trent was the twentieth and last General Council of the Church. It was convened by Paul III. in 1545, and continued, by twenty-five sessions, till 1563.

[3] Strype's Annals, I. 342; Parker, 244. Collier, VI. 463. Carte, III. 495.

[4] See Chap. XII. p. 321, and note 5.

making *a mental reservation* to serve the Church of Rome whenever opportunity should occur; and that all parties of the Romish faith should be dispensed with to swear to all heresies in England or elsewhere, — such oaths being taken with intent to advance the Mother Church. Other particulars of minor importance were comprised in the advice of the Papal Council; all of which had been reported to Sir William Cecil in April, 1564, by Dennum, one of his spies in Italy.[1]

On the 10th of May, 1566, the new Pope, Pius V., issued a bull of anathema against heretics generally, and directed his ecclesiastics everywhere to contrive *all manner* of devices to confound them. This bull was intended, and understood, to be only a public confirmation of the measures which had been previously initiated by Pius IV. and the Council of Trent. Upon its publication, fresh volunteer priests were enrolled, and licensed, under its authority, to pursue such secular callings in England as each might fancy for a screen to his ecclesiastical character and ministrations.[2]

As the result of the several measures above recited, priests were skulking in disguise through every

[1] Strype's Annals, II. 54–57.

Lingard (VII. 318, note) says: "This was sent from Venice by one Dennum, who had gone to Italy as a spy, and pretended that he had procured the information by bribery. The absurdity of the tale can be equalled only by the credulity of those who believe it." A facile and summary way of disposing of an unpleasant record, and unworthy of a grave historian. The reader who pauses over it will recognize a negative admission of the fact. With such a besom, how clean of atrocity could the annals of human nature be made to seem!

Hallam (p. 75, note) says that the adoption of such resolutions against Elizabeth in a consistory held by Pius IV. "is unlikely, and little in that Pope's character." But 'a Pope 's a Pope for a' that.'

[2] Strype's Annals, II. 218–220.

county in England; sometimes officiating at Mass by night in private houses, and sometimes playing the part of Protestant preachers in public.[1] Auxiliary hereto, English Catholics abroad published various books against the queen and her government, which they sent over for dispersion by their agents at home.[2]

The Queen's Council were neither ignorant of these matters, nor asleep. A royal proclamation ordered the dispersers of these "dangerous books" to be sought out and punished; and many priests and lay Papists had been detected at secret Mass and committed to prison.[3] One of the priests who had been moved by the late bull to come into England was William Blagrave, who operated in York, in the character of a Puritan preacher.[4] Some slip of the tongue, or some awkwardness in his heretical vocation, exciting suspicion that he was other than he professed, he was apprehended; and divers papers called "treasonable" being found in his possession, he was condemned to die by the hangman on the 10th of May, 1566. When ascending the ladder, he paused, and said to the Archbishop of York with a sneer: "By the rood, my lord! the bands of your apostate Church be no more potent than a tow-thread, an a tongue so unapt as mine doth suffice for their breaking! I have drawn away your silly sheep to herd with the basest sort; and they whom I have converted into Puritans will hate your Liturgy as much as you hate Rome."

[1] Hallam, 78.
[2] Strype's Annals, II. 192, 530.
[3] Haynes, 395. Strype's Grindal, 66. Strype's Annals, I. 295, 545, 546.
[4] Strype's Parker, 70.

"Prithee!" returned his Grace, "who be these silly sheep?"

"Nay, nay; find *you* them, my lord, an you be able. I be no betrayer of my penitents. Albeit, they will yet return to the bosom of Holy Church."

Then, making the sign of the cross and turning his eyes to heaven, he was swung off. Thus died the Pope's protomartyr under the reign of Elizabeth.[1]

Hitherto, the English Catholics had prudently avoided giving offence. Whenever they had held divine worship after their own forms, they had done so with due precaution of secrecy. Most of them, considering that "there was nothing in the service of the English Church which was repugnant to that of Rome,"[2] and that "the Common Prayer contained no positive heterodoxy,"[3] had attended, with decent regularity at least, upon the prayers, sermons, and sacraments at their parish churches.[4] But now, in the years 1567 and 1568, they began to show symptoms of disaffection. In Lancashire, they proceeded to open contempt of the religious order enjoined, utterly laying aside the Book of Common Prayer, and the established service, and freely celebrating Mass. So extensive was this defection, that the churches were deserted and shut up;[5] and emissaries of the Pope, whom he had specially licensed to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in England,[6] were absolving lapsed penitents, and "reconciling them *from* obedience to the queen."[7] There were also

[1] Strype's Annals, I. 342, 343. Collier, VI. 463. Carte, III. 495.

[2] Digges, 113.

[3] Butler, I. 310.

[4] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 30, 31. Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 97.

[5] Strype's Annals, II. 253.

[6] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 81. Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 31.

[7] Burleigh to Faunt; Birch, II. 91. "A man was said to be *reconciled*, who, after he had gone to the new

secret and mysterious gatherings of the Catholics, which boded disturbance, if not rebellion. So alarming were these symptoms, that, in some parts of his diocese, the Bishop of Chester dared not show his person. The Court were disturbed, and sent down a commission to examine and purge the country. Yet, notwithstanding all these acts, so flagrant in the eyes of the queen, and so defiant of her authority, the commissioners were so lenient that the Catholics escaped by simply acknowledging their offences against the Act of Uniformity, and promising to obey the laws,[1] — a lenity in strong contrast to the punishment for the same transgression meted by royal order to the Protestant offenders of the Hall of the Plumbers. The latter were few and weak and friendless,—severity might crush them at once. The Catholics were many, and had powerful foreign friends on the move already against the Church and the Crown of England; friends whom lenity might soothe and keep at bay, whom harshness might provoke and stir to action. Puritan principles "tended to a popularity."[2] Despotism was the very core of the Catholic faith. Thus, state policy dictated this different treatment, — a policy and a difference distinctly traceable throughout Elizabeth's reign.

We say that the English Catholics had foreign friends astir against the Church and Crown of England. These had already put on the harness, and were ready at any fit moment to throw down the gaunt-

service, returned to the Catholic worship and received absolution."— Lingard, VIII. 77, note.

Burleigh's words were, "without reconciling them *from* obedience to the queen, they *never gave* absolution."

[1] Strype's Annals, II. 253, 260.

[2] Strype's Parker, [447] *false page.*

let. The principal Catholic princes — the Pope (Pius V.), the Emperor, the king of Spain, and some smaller princes — had secretly bound themselves in league, by solemn oath,[1] to extirpate the Protestant religion throughout the world. This league, which had its origin in the Council of Trent,[2] and was devised by the Cardinal of Lorraine,[3] seems to have been consummated about the year 1564.[4] Its principal articles of agreement, which were quickly reported at Whitehall by English spies, were, that all Lutheran, Calvinist, and Huguenot princes should be "rooted out," and their crowns given to those whom

[1] Harleian Miscellany, I. 160.

[2] Life of Hatton, 457.

[3] Melvil, 126.

[4] Strype says, (Annals, II. 243,) that in 1567 "the chiefest Popish potentates entered into a secret combination to destroy the reformed religion utterly." But, from what he says on the next page about the French king, he seems to mean, that in 1567 the league had its complement of parties filled; implying that it existed before.

I have assigned its *formation* to 1564, because Sir Christopher Hatton (see "Life and Times of Hatton," p. 457) declared in the House of Commons, February 22d, 1586–7, that it was projected in the Council of Trent, and because Randolph, in a letter to Cecil dated February, 1565–6, speaks of it as having been *then* "lately devised," and as having been entered into by "the late Pope," (see Wright, I. 219,) who was Pius IV. Now Pius IV. died in the previous year, December, 1565, and the Council of Trent was dissolved in 1563. The league must, therefore, have been made between the dissolution of the Council and the death of the Pope, most probably within a year after the former event, — a time sufficient for the necessary diplomatic negotiations.

*Was there any such league?*

Catharine, the queen mother of France, met her daughter, Isabella, queen of Spain, at Bayonne, in 1565. The Duke of Alva was in attendance. Lingard says (VIII. 64, and note), that "the Protestant leaders in France believed, or affected to believe, that at this interview a league had been *formed* for the extirpation, first of the Protestants in France, and then of the Protestants in other countries"; and considers the falsehood of it settled, because Von Raumer in his published researches respecting the conferences at Bayonne has *not* a passage corroborative of such a league!

But that "dark and sanguinary councils" of *some* kind were then held, is evident from the testimony of the young Prince of Navarre,

the leaguers might elect to the same; and that all "well-wishers and assisters" of Protestantism should be "displaced, banished, and condemned to death."[1] Late events had already begun to indicate that the Papal party of Europe were to find their centre of power in Philip of Spain, and the Protestant party theirs in Elizabeth of England.[2] Consequently, it was considered of great importance by the Popish confederates, — and in a few years it became the grand object to which they bent all their counsels, and for which they strained every sinew of their power, — to undermine the ecclesiastical and civil

who was present, and communicated what he heard to the President de Calignon, from whose memoir we derive it. (See Life of Henry IV. by G. P. R. James, Vol. I. Bk. III. p. 217. New York, 1847.)

I also submit the following. In reference to the Emperor Ferdinand I., Philip, and the Pope, Cecil received a letter, to which no name is appended, from Brussels, dated February 5, 1559–60, and containing this passage: "The Emperor hath received great demonstrations of amity at the Pope's hands..... The Emperor's Puissance and the King Catholic's — as all men here account — are like to be much advanced by means of this Pope. I could wish and trust it is considered what their straighter amity doth imparte," — *sic;* qu. "import"? — "which may be unto us a pillow *in utramque aurem dormire.*" (Haynes, 237.)

Mr. Hallam does not give credit to the league, "as printed by Strype." (Hallam, 87, note.) It will be perceived, however, that I rely not at all upon any transactions, real or supposed, at Bayonne; but upon the statements of Hatton and of Randolph, whose letter to Cecil was written *before* the meeting at Bayonne. Beal, also, the Secretary of the Queen's Council, refers "the conjuration to root out all such as, contrary to the Pope's traditions, make profession of the Gospel," only to "*the Council of Trent.*" (Strype's Parker, 357.)

It may be asked, and perhaps not impertinently, do not the massacre of 1572, the atrocities in the Low Countries, the plot of "the Pope, Philip, and the French king," to co-operate with the Earls in England, the purpose of the queen's murder, &c. revealed by the Emperor's ambassador to Montague, and other like things afterwards, — do not all these wonderfully coincide with the supposition of such a league? Compare Hume, III. 19, 27.

[1] Strype's Annals, II. 244. Life of Hatton, 47.

[2] Butler, I. 341.

establishments of the English queen, she being reckoned the great champion and "chiefest protectrix" of Protestantism.[1]

While Cecil had his spies abroad, through whom he received constant intelligence of Catholic devices,[2] Pius V., since he could not have his apostolical nuncio in England, employed a secret agent. Full of zeal for recovering the realm to the Roman See, and, as a necessary means, for dethroning Elizabeth, he secured the services of Ridolpho, a Florentine merchant and banker, who had resided in London since 1554.[3] It was this man's commission from the Pope, "to animate men's minds to work the destruction of the queen"; in other words, to "sow sedition" in England, and particularly among the Papists. He acted not only under the direction of the Pope, but of the other confederates also,[4] who placed large moneys in his hands for the furthering of their designs. He was a faithful, very busy, and very effective agent; and was commended to the Queen of Scots by special letters from his Holiness.[5]

Thus the foreign conspiracy — known to the English Court, and, unquestionably, to the English Catholics through the Italian banker — emboldened the Lancashireans in 1567 to the open practice of their

[1] Life of Hatton, 47; Davison to Hatton.

[2] Lloyd, 475.

[3] Strype says that he came to England about the year 1566; Lingard, that he had lived in London fifteen years previous to 1569. In regard to such a matter, the Catholic historian may be supposed to have been the better informed.

[4] Lodge, II. 53.

[5] Hieronymo Catena, in Camden, 179. Strype's Annals, II. 220, and Life of Parker, 264. Haynes, 466; Norris to Cecil. Camden, 118, 154. Wright, I. 392, note. Lingard, VIII. 44, note.

illegal worship, and at the same time softened the measures of the government for their correction. It well became Elizabeth, with foes crouching all around her, to deport herself warily; and it was well, too, that at this crisis she had counsellors of consummate wisdom by her side, to rein her imperious pride and moderate the execution of law. The lesser punishment, in 1568, of a case like that of Blagrave in 1566, also shows how the action of the government was modified by the present attitude of the Catholic princes. Thomas Heath, a Jesuit, and brother to the Archbishop of York and High Chancellor of England, who announced to Parliament the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, had itinerated in the kingdom during the last six years in the character of a Puritan minister.[1] He preached his last sermon, however, in the pulpit of the Dean of Rochester, where he accidentally dropped a letter, which was found by the sexton, and which betrayed him. The bishop of the diocese, Guest, immediately brought the pseudo-Puritan to examination and confession; for rosaries, Popish books and papers, a license from the Jesuits, a bull from Pius V. for preaching whatever doctrines the Society of

[1] Some historians of the time, when speaking of the Papists under guise of Puritans, allow themselves in the use of language which may convey to an unwatchful reader the idea that there were sympathy and collusion in those days between the two; as though the Puritans were willing to connive at, and abet, these masked Papists, for the sake of the mischief they might do to the Established Church. "The Papists," indeed, "combined with the Puritans" against the Establishment; but nothing could be farther from the truth, than that the Puritans combined with the Papists, for between no two religious sects was there then, nor to this day has there ever been, a greater antipathy. Under Elizabeth, the Puritans were at least as forward as the rigid Churchmen to enact severe laws against the Papists.

Jesus might appoint for confounding and dividing the Protestants, — all found in his possession, — besides the letter, which contained directions from a Spanish Jesuit for the prosecution of his insidious mission, were proofs of his real character and business which it was in vain to gainsay. Unlike Blagrave, he was spared from the gallows, but, to expiate his offence, was placed in the pillory at Rochester during three days in November, 1568, had his ears cut off, his nose slit, his forehead branded with the letter R, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He died, however, within a few months.[1]

Another Catholic movement this year betokened a vigorous and radical determination to sap the foundations of the English commonwealth, and excited anew the jealousy and apprehension of the government. The old priests who had remained at home were fast dropping into the grave; and although others who had fled abroad returned for the clandestine exercise of their priesthood, yet they were but few, and were alike passing away. The rising generation of English Catholics could neither receive at home a theological education in their own faith, nor ordination from Catholic bishops. Thus it was certain that, if no remedy were found, the English Catholic priesthood would soon become extinct, and their laity destitute of the rites of their own religion. To provide this remedy, William Allen, an Englishman and a Romish priest, — afterwards Cardinal Allen, — devised the planting of a college at Douay in Flanders, — that place being

[1] Strype's Annals, II. 272, 273. Carte, III. 496. Collier, VI. 464.

selected for its nearness to England,[1] — where English-born youth might be educated, and ordained as missionaries to their native land. His plan being approved, and funds being provided, he opened his seminary this year, 1568, "with six companions."[2] In a few years, the establishment consisted of one hundred and fifty professors and students.[3] Though they were driven awhile to Rheims in 1576, so well did the school prosper, that, between the years 1575 and 1580, Dr. Allen sent one hundred of his pupils on the English mission, and in the next five years a greater number.[4] Other colleges, for the same missionary purpose, were afterwards established in several other cities on the Continent.[5] Upon entering these schools, the pupils were required to take the following oath: —

"I — A. B. — considering how great benefits God hath bestowed on me, but then especially when he brought me out of mine own country, so much infected with heresy, and made me a member of the Catholic Church, as also desiring, with a thankful heart, to improve so great a mercy of God, have resolved to offer myself wholly up to Divine service, as much as I may to fulfil the end for which this our College was founded. I promise, therefore, and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am prepared from mine heart, with the assistance of Divine grace, in due time to receive Holy Orders, and to return into England, to convert the souls of my countrymen and kindred, when, and as often, as

[1] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 31.
[2] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 84. Lingard, VIII. 149, 150. Butler, I. 310, 313. Camden, 244, 245.
[3] Butler, I. 314.
[4] Ibid., 316.
[5] Ibid., 334, 336.

it shall seem good to the superior of this College to command me."[1]

The statement above made concerning the purpose for which these seminaries were founded is undoubtedly truth, but not the whole truth. There was a deeper purpose, which, it cannot be doubted,[2] Allen cherished at the beginning of his enterprise. To recover by a religious mission the heretical Church of England, was to undermine the throne of the heretical queen; and it is preposterous to suppose that this was not the *ultimate* aim of the missionary crusade. But we are not left to inference or conjecture. Years after, when Mary, Queen of Scots, was in her bloody tomb, the Cardinal d'Ossat, an eminent statesman, said, in a letter to Henry IV. of France: "For this purpose were the colleges and seminaries erected by the Spaniards for the English at Douay and St. Omer's, wherein the young gentlemen of the best families in England are entertained, for the purpose of winning their favor, and that of their parents, kindred, and friends. The principal care which these colleges and seminaries have, is to catechise and educate these young gentlemen in the full faith and firm belief that the late king of Spain had, and that his children now have, the true right of succession to the crown of England, and that this is expedient not only for the realm of England, but for every place in which true Christianity is established. And when these young gentlemen have finished their classical studies, and have

[1] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 92, refers to Sanders. Collier, VI. 470, 471. II. 142, 151. Strype's Whitgift, 89.

[2] Taylor's Romantic Biography,

reached an age when they may be made thorough Spaniards, they are carried out of the Netherlands into Spain to other colleges, where they are instructed in philosophy and divinity, and confirmed in the same holy faith that the kingdom of England did of right belong to the king of Spain, and does now belong to his children. And after that these young gentlemen have finished their courses, such of them as are found to be most Hispaniolized, and most courageous and firm in their adherence to this Spanish creed, are sent into England to sow *this* faith among their countrymen, and to be spies. They regularly send information to the Spaniards of what is doing in England, and what must and ought to be done to bring England under the dominion of Spain. And they are ready, if need be, to undergo martyrdom as soon, or rather sooner, for this Spanish faith, than for the Catholic religion."[1]

True indeed it is, that all antagonism in the Douay school to the sovereignty of Queen Elizabeth was carefully covered, in 1568, under the cloak of unmixed religion and care for souls; but the sagacious statesmen who managed the English helm easily looked through the pretensions of pious zeal, and, if they did not at first unravel the subtle and deadly plot against the peace and stability of the realm, saw at a glance the bearing of Catholic proselytism upon the affairs of state.

In these times of secret plots and secret missions,

[1] Taylor, II. 149. Strype's Annals, V. 58, Queen's Proclamation in 1581; and VII. 79, Queen's Proclamation of 1591. Compare Camden, 482, 483.

when not only the Privy Council and the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but the common people, Churchmen and Puritans alike, were on the watch for lurking Papalins, there was an odd sort of man in London whose name is well known even in this day by the students of Elizabethan history. He was a quiet man, chiefly anxious, as are all *true* men, that it might be written of him in heaven, if not on earth, "He fulfilled his course." He was a tailor, plying his task with some diligence and due skill; "odd," because, being a tailor, he was a book-worm, busying himself as much or more with the musty records of generations dead, as with the gay apparel of the generation living; "quiet," for, although a few times he was the occasion of some commotion in the state, it was not his fault. Nor was it now his fault that her Majesty's Privy Council, and her Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and my Lord of Canterbury, and my Lord Bishop of London, and some lesser folks, were all agog about him. On the 21st of February, 1568–9, there happened a lull of business in his shop, of which he took advantage to exchange the counting-room for the study, and shears for books. The study was a curiosity-shop; for, besides poring over old books, the good man had a passion for natural history, botany, anatomy, surgery, pharmacy, and (I ween) a leaning to astrology and alchemy. There were skulls and cross-bones fixed upon the wall; there was the stuffed skin of a snake hanging beside them; there were queer reptiles drowned in vials of aqua-vitæ, bunches of dried grasses and herbs, and a regiment of bugs, beetles, butterflies, and dragon-flies. On the

opposite side of the room was a large oaken press filled with books, old and young; some printed, folded, and bound, some in manuscript rolls of parchment or paper. Here were pestle and mortar; there, a pair of small scales; in a corner, a crucible; and on a table, a parchment scroll, with pen, ink, and paper. The master of the premises was in the act of impaling a beetle in his jacket of purple and gold, when he was startled by a stealthy step at the door, which was instantly and rudely thrust open. He turned pale; the Philistines were upon him. Foremost stood a stranger wearing the queen's badge; and behind him, two men in square caps and side-gowns, and a fourth, in the robe of a clerk, with inkhorn and tablets.

"John Stow?" inquired the pursuivant.

There was a choking sensation in the tailor's throat, and he could return only a timorous gesture, which said, being interpreted,—"John Stow, culprit."

"Queen's warrant!" said the other, drawing a paper from his doublet. "Odd zooks! my masters," as he moved aside for their entrance, "I make no marvel ye be in suspect. A Papalin! A Papalin!"

John Stow, culprit, was a little comforted when, as the clergymen passed the pursuivant, who stood sentinel in the doorway, he recognized Doctor Wattes, Archdeacon of London and a chaplain of Bishop Grindal, and Master Williams, a divine of the city. The other, whom he did not know, was Bedle, clerk of the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

"Goodman Stow," said the Archdeacon, with some courtesy but more solemnity, "it hath been bruited

to the Lords of the Council that you heed not the Queen's Majesty's proclamation touching such books as be dangerous to her and her government. We are commanded to make search here, and seize all such traitorous books that may be found. Master Bedle, we will proceed."

It were tedious to narrate the proceeding. It is enough to state that the sanctuary of John Stow was effectually rummaged; that by some things they saw, the gentlemen were puzzled; of some, ludicrously shy; and at some, they solemnly shook their heads for having such a black-art look. But books were the great object of their inquisition. In vain did the tailor tell them that he was making a chronicle of the historical antiquities of London and England; that there were his rough manuscripts on the table; that the printed books and written rolls were his authorities, his raw materials; that he had never had, and never should have, anything to do with treason; that he was working purely for the good of posterity, &c., &c. They shook their heads again, and said, they knew that he pretended so; and asked him significantly, "What this book and that book — as full of Papistry as an egg of meat, just printed over the sea, too — had to do with the historical antiquities of England, or the good of posterity?" And when he said that "Papistry had much concerned generations past, and would concern those to come, and that new-printed books had old stories, — as his would have if they would only let him finish and print it," — they only pursed up their lips and looked solemn again. "There was Papistry enough there, that was certain."

Mr. Strype says, that they not only took a large inventory, but *perused* all his books the *same day*"; which last may be doubted, for at this time "his library abounded with books," and had of "unlawful" ones no less than forty.[1] At least, the report which they made to the Bishop of London was dated on the 24th, — not till three days after. In this report, they said, that "the man had a great sort of foolish, fabulous books of old print, and great parcel of old written English chronicles, both in parchment and in paper, some long, some short; that he had besides, as it were miscellanea of divers sorts, both touching physic, surgery, and herbs, with medicines of experience: also old fantastical Popish books, printed in the old time, with many such, all written in old English, in parchment; that these they omitted making any inventory of; but that of another sort they did, viz. of such books as had been lately set forth in the realm, or beyond sea, in defence of Papistry, with a note of some of his own devices and writings touching such matter as he had gathered for chronicles, whereabout he seemed to them to have bestowed much travail. His books," they said, in conclusion, "declared him to be a great Fautor of Papistry."[2]

What was done with this great Fautor of Papistry, or with his "foolish books," does not appear; but it is certain that he and they were spared from execution; else "The Annals of England," and "The Survey of London," would never have been given to posterity. Probably the Chancellors of the

[1] Strype's Grindal, Append., Bk. I. No. XVII.
[2] Ibid., pp. 124, 125.

Universities — Cecil and Leicester — understood better than the Archbishop how an historian might use Papistical books, and yet be a right loyal Protestant and true.[1]

Just before this domiciliary visit, — we have diverged from the order of time, to retain in connection cause and effect, — there was a vast crowd of people in St. Bartholomew's Church, which stood

[1] Stow was at this time forty-four years of age; tall and lean; "his eyes small and crystalline; of a pleasant and cheerful countenance; very sober, mild, and courteous." Leicester was his literary friend, and, in some measure at least, his literary patron. Fortunate it was for his own peace, that he was of a serene temperament, and "very careless of scoffers, backbiters, and detractors"; for he must have been beset by them.

In 1544, he had been in great danger from the false accusation of a priest. But the tables were turned upon the perjurer, who was adjudged, in the Star-Chamber, to the pillory, and to be branded on the cheek, F. A. — for False Accuser.

The very year after the occurrence stated in the text, when the nation were full of fears about Papistry, when Papists were expecting the restoration of their religion, and Papist astrologers were predicting the queen's death, (Strype's Parker, 293,) he was arraigned before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, "or in the Star-Chamber," on suspicion, apparently, of being a Fautor of Popery. The accusation was laid *by his own brother*, who had previously "despoiled him of his goods"! It consisted of no less than one hundred and forty articles; but, upon trial, was proved false. "An honest man, and of unspotted life," was John Stow. He must have been rarely so, to have escaped under accusations as "a favorer of Popery" at such a time, when to be accused in *such* matters was almost sure to bring conviction.

He was indefatigable in his antiquarian researches. Being prevented from riding by a local disease which carried him to his grave, he "made use of his own legs" to go up and down the country in searching records in cathedral churches and other "chief places." He lived poor, but peacefully; and died poor and painfully, at eighty years of age, in 1605. His various works, he said, had cost him many a weary mile's travel, many a hard-earned penny and pound, and many a cold winter night's study.

"Lived poorely where he trophies gave,
Lies poorely there in noteless grave," —

was written before the erection of his "monument, set up at the charges of Elizabeth his wife." (Introd. Notice to Thom's edit. of Stow's Survey. Biog. Dict., 15 vols. 8vo, London, 1798.)

behind the Exchange in London. It was on the 19th of February, 1568–9. The solemn service for the dead was in progress, and the whole multitude were mourners. Good old Father Coverdale had "fallen asleep," and they had come to lay his tabernacle away, and to take their last look of that familiar face, whence nor changes, nor perils, nor buffetings, nor eighty-one years, had been able to remove the placid look which Grace had stamped, which heavenly-mindedness had kept fresh and genial. No one had been so venerated as he, by all the thousands of London; and seldom have so many tears been dropped upon a coffin by unpretending, noiseless grief, as upon his. They committed dust to dust; they closed the chancel upon his remains; and, as they went away to their homes, each was murmuring in heart, "Let my last end be like his." [1]

[1] The discrepancy among annalists respecting the time of Coverdale's death is remarkable. Strype (Annals, II. 43) says he died *May 20th*, 1565; and yet (Life of Grindal, 116) speaks of him as living in 1567. But Strype seems to have had a liking for the resurrection of the dead; for in his Annals (V. 37) he kills Cox, Bishop of Ely, in 1581, and then (p. 486) brings him to life again, and to a peck of troubles, in 1585. (Fuller says that Cox died in February, 1579–80. Bk. IX. p. 111.) He also makes Robert Johnson, who died of want and cruelty in prison in 1574, a very naughty man at Cambridge in 1576; a very naughty preacher at Paul's Cross in 1609; and the same again in the same pulpit in 1620. (Strype's Parker, 328, 329.) On p. 493 of Parker's biography, Parker dies in May; but on p. 190 of Grindal's Life, he is resuscitated until August.

Neal (I. 90) says that Coverdale died *May 20th*, 1567; and cites Strype's Parker, where no such statement is made.

The Parker Society says he died in February, 1569.

Brook (I. 127) says he died "January 20th, 1568, aged eighty-*one* years," and immediately gives a translation of his epitaph; which *translation* reads that he was but *eighty* years of age. Brook cites Stow's Survey of London, Bk. II. p. 122.

Fuller (Worthies, III. 412, where 1588 is an error of type, and History, Bk. IX. p. 65) gives the date,

What a contrast was the funeral of Bonner, — Queen Mary's Butcher of Protestants, — who died on the 5th of September of this same year![1] In 1559, he had been sent to the King's Bench prison to protect him from the fury of the populace;[2] whence he was removed to the Marshalsea in 1560.[3] There, he "had the use of the gardens and orchards when he was minded to walk abroad to take the air; suffering nothing like imprisonment, unless that he was circumscribed within certain bounds. Nay, he had his liberty to go abroad, but dared not venture."[4] His friends had free access to him[5]; "he lived plentifully, daintily"; and was even permitted to receive the daily visits of his concubine.[6] He had been

"Obiit 1568, Jan. 20," i. e. 1568–9; and Coverdale's age eighty-one, — "Octaginta annos grandævus vixit, *et unum*." This epitaph, he says, "I took from the brass inscription of his marble stone under the communion-table in the chancel of St. Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange." Brook does not translate the words "et unum."

The Parker Society adds, that St. Bartholomew's Church was taken down, to make room for the new Exchange, in 1840; when the remains of Coverdale were removed to St. Magnus.

I find that Brook cites, not from Stow, but from something *added* to Stow's Survey by Munday, the editor of the edition of 1633. It further appears, from "The Register of Burials in the Parish Church of St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange," that "Miles Coverdale, doctor of divinity, was *buried* ano 1568, the 19th of February"; i. e. in modern style, 1569. (Memorials of Coverdale, Bagster's edit., London, 1838, p. 181, and note L, p. 190.) Fuller's copy of the epitaph differs in a few places from that in the "Memorials"; besides having "*Obiit* 1568, Feb. 20," which the latter has not.

In the text, I give only the date of the funeral services. If the time of *decease* was not added by Fuller, — and it is hardly to be supposed that it was, — Coverdale must have lain without burial a month.

[1] Wood's Athenæ, I. 372.

[2] Strype's Grindal, 102, 141. Fuller's Worthies, III. 364. Fuller's Hist., Bk. IX. p. 58.

[3] Strype's Annals, I. 220.

[4] Ibid., I. 214.

[5] Ibid., II. 358.

[6] Ibid., III. 303.

under sentence of excommunication eight or nine years, and therefore by law was barred from Christian burial. This, however, was not withheld. But, as his Popish friends had arranged to give signal honor to his interment, and as such parade would have been at the risk of a riot by the people, who detested him for his atrocities, the Bishop of London considerately ordered him to be buried as privately as was consistent with decency.[1] He was carried to his grave, in St. George's Churchyard in Southwark, at midnight, September the 8th; "some Popish friends and relatives" being in attendance, but "with derision of men and women; buried among thieves and murderers; his grave stamped and trampled on after he was laid into it: and this was all the persecution he suffered."[2]

"The memory of the just is blessed; but the name of the wicked shall rot."

Mary, Queen of Scots, had had larger experience of the caprice and rough usage of fortune in twenty-seven years of life, than usually falls to the lot of men and women during threescore years and ten. Queen of Scotland, in her cradle; queen consort and queen dowager of France, and queen regnant in her native realm, while yet in her teens; she was now twice a widow, twice a captive, and four years a mother. Beautiful, young, of gentle disposition, kind heart, and "winning grace," accustomed from infancy to the refined usages of the French Court, she was ill fitted to curb the turbulence, or brook the

[1] Grindal to Cecil, Sept. 9. 1569; in Ellis, 1st Series, II. 258.

[2] Strype's Grindal, 142. Wood's Athenæ, I. 372.

rudeness, of semi-barbarous Scots. The owl, the crow, the vulture, had pitted themselves against this talonless bird of fair plumage and sweet song, and had hawked at her till, for very life, she had flown away for refuge. She had sought and been promised shelter in England.[1] But state policy — that gory ogre — had put the trembling, helpless, trusting fugitive into a cage, to pine and flutter and make her sad plaint there until the time of blood. She had now been eighteen months the prisoner of Elizabeth.

"State policy?" Yes; state policy, — conscienceless, shameless, remorseless, Godless, Bible-less![2]

[1] Camden, 109. Echard, 811.

[2] It is singular to find Sir James Mackintosh (I. 356) in the mazes of state policy, and trying to draw a parallel between the imprisonment of the fugitive Mary, by a power with whom she was at peace, and that of the fugitive Napoleon, by a power with whom he was at war.

But it is painful to find Alison, in the same mazes, penning the words following. "This feeling" — of popular disapprobation of the bombardment of Copenhagen and the stealing of the Danish fleet, in 1807 — "This feeling was creditable to the public mind, . . . . . the conception of the measure, honorable to the government." (Vol. II. p. 593, New York, 1842.) It is well to distinguish between a government and a people; and it is a pleasure to know that, in this infamous instance, the moral sense of the two was at strife, — that what was counted their glory by the British ministers, was counted their shame by the people. But — to repeat it — it is painful to find a Christian writer of repute commending in the same breath, and as alike worthy of approval in the court of conscience, sentiments so utterly different; gravely telling us that moral discord is moral harmony.

So men reason upon political ethics, when they pet state policy and cut loose from God.

In this connection, and in this country, it may not be amiss to discriminate between the atrocities of an oligarchical government, and those of a democratic; to consider that there is a difference between the moral responsibility of a *people* under the former, and that of a *people* under the latter; and to ponder whether He who has ever been "the Governor among the nations," while he may not visit upon the former the sins of their rulers, may not righteously and notably chastise the latter for the wrongs done by theirs. Time were better spent upon points like these, than upon many

Mary was presumptive heir to the English throne; but Mary was a Catholic. She was therefore the dread of the English Protestants; for "the religion established was thought not secure whilst she was in being."[1] For the same reason, she was the Star of Hope to all who wished England recovered to the Papal See.

The zealot Catholics of England — chiefly resident in the northern counties — were naturally exasperated by the outrage upon the Scottish queen. The powerful Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland — "both Catholics and declared friends of Mary" — plotted an insurrection for her deliverance, and for the re-establishment of the old religion.[2] To this they were emboldened by the previous measures of the Catholic states, — above recited, — by the intrigues of Ridolpho, and by promises made (through him, doubtless) of troops, arms, and an experienced general to be furnished by the Duke of Alva from the Low Countries.[3] Taking advantage of this state of affairs, Dr. Nicholas Morton, formerly a Prebendary of York,[4] joined their counsels in the spring of 1569. He came directly from Rome with the title of "Apostolical Penitentiary"; not only to impart holy faculties to the bishopless priests, but to fan and feed these embers of revolt, and to declare by the Pope's authority to these noblemen, that

which demagogues drawl about in the school-boy conventions of our day.

[1] Lord Buckhurst to Mary; Butler, II. 10.

[2] Elizabeth to Sussex; Haynes, 556. Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 83. Lingard, VIII. 45, 49. Butler, I. 375.

[3] Haynes, 466. Camden, 179; where this insurrection is erroneously said to have been forwarded by a bull from Rome, which was not issued until the insurrection had failed.

[4] Camden, 134.

Elizabeth, being a heretic, had no queenly right.[1] He had, in the district, kinsmen of wealth and influence, whom, as well as the Earls, he stimulated by the intelligence that the curse of excommunication was already hanging over the head of their heretical queen.[2]

As early as July, 1568, Cecil had received information of some such enterprise, "conspired twixt the king of Spain, the Pope, and the French king, whereby the Queen's Majesty might be destroyed and the Queen of Scots succeed her";[3] and before the preparations were ripe, it became evident to the conspirators that their design was suspected, if not known, at Court.[4] In consequence of this, about the middle of October[5] the standard of revolt was precipitately unfurled; the communion-table, the English Bible and Service-Book, were torn to pieces,[6] and Mass celebrated before thousands in the cathedral of Durham; and the common people were mustered in

[1] Holingshed, IV. 521. Strype's Annals, VI. 340; Append., Bk. I. No. XLVII. Camden, 179. Echard, 816.

[2] Lingard, VIII. 45, note.

[3] "The provost-marshal wished I should advertise, that the Queen's Majesty did hold the wolf that would devour her, and that it is conspired twixt the king of Spain, the Pope, and the French king, that the Queen's Majesty should be destroyed, whereby the Queen of Scots might succed her Majesty, ..... and further saith that there is an Italian ..... that being privily taken could disclose much of treason that is to be wrought against the Queen's Majesty. The Italian is he to whom the Duke of Alva doth send his letters of conspiracy, as he" — the marshal — "affirmeth. The French king hath sent them Captain De la Garde, with speed to prepare six galleys to aid their enterprise..... From Paris, in haste, this 7th of July, 1568." — Norris to Cecil; Haynes, 466. Cecil's answer to this letter, dated July 13th, is in the Cabala, p. 138.

[4] Lodge, II. 26; Cecil to Shrewsbury and Huntingdon.

[5] Cabala, 160; Cecil to Norris.

[6] Haynes, 554; Queen to Sussex. Holingshed, IV. 235.

arms to the number of seventeen hundred horse and nearly four thousand foot. The Earls despatched letters to the Catholic nobility and gentry all over the kingdom, exhorting them to arm for their most holy faith; but most of them, instead of responding to the call, emulated each other in offers of purse, person, and sword in the service of the queen.[1] Indeed, the larger portion of her advance army under the Earl of Sussex were Catholic gentlemen and their tenants. Besides, the succors expected from abroad did not arrive. Thus disappointed and unsupported, the body of the insurgents began to wane by daily desertions; the Earls disagreed; and the remnant of their forces, upon the first approach of the royal army, scattered to their homes. The Earls, with a fragment of their cavalry, fled across the border.[2] Not a blow had been struck.[3] The blows were struck after all was over. The offenders were ferreted out. Hundreds of the poorer were strung upon the gibbet. Men of substance — to secure to the Crown the forfeiture of their estates — were reserved for process of law.[4]

[1] Haynes, 563, 564, 589. Cabala, 160; Cecil to Norris. Camden, 134. Echard, 816.

[2] Cabala, 160.

[3] Holingshed, IV. 336. Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 83. Echard, 817. Lingard, VIII. 47–54. Hume, III. 64. Camden, 133–135.

[4] Camden, 136. Lingard, VIII. 35, 60.

I cannot withhold an extract from a letter of Sussex; partly because it illustrates the text, and partly because it shows the character of that noble-spirited soldier. It was written to Cecil in a moment of indignation, on the 23d of January, 1569–70. "I was first a Lieutenante: I was after little better than a Marshall: (I had then nothing left to me but to direct hanging matters; in the meane tyme all was disposed that was in my comission) and nowe I am offered to be made a shrieff's bayly" — sheriff's bailiff — "to deliver over possessions. Blame me not, good Mr. Secretarie, though my pen utter sumwhat of

Such were the antecedents at home and abroad, and such the chief incidents of this ephemeral insurrection. It was provoked by the forlorn condition of Mary, and sprung by the cabals of the Popish league.

For the loyalty of the great body of the English Catholics, upon this occasion, there may appear below a more honorable reason than that assigned by their own historian, — "regard for their personal safety."[1]

A person convicted under the Statute of Præmunire had forfeited the king's protection. Any one might wrong him with impunity, even to the taking of his life.[2] Like a wild beast or a rabid dog, he was a creature to be shunned, a pest to be hunted down. But so to deal with one who had not fallen under this forfeiture was counted a crime. In like manner, it was held pre-eminently as a deed "shocking

that swell in my stomake, for I see I am but kepte for a brome, and when I have done my office to be throwen out of the dore. I am the first nobelman hathe been thus used. Trewe service deserveth honor and credite, and not reproche and open defaming: but seeing the one is ever delyvered to me in stede of the other, I must leave to serve, or lose my honor; which being continewed so long in my howse, I wolde be lothe shoolde take blemishe with me. These matters I knowe procede not from lacke of good and honorabell meaning in the Q. Majestie towards me, nor for lacke of dewté and trewthe in me towards her, which grevethe me the more; and therefore, seing I shalbe still a camelyon, and yelde no other shewe then as it shall please others to give the couller, I will content myself to live a private lyfe. God send her Majesté others that mean as well as I have done." — Lodge, II. 35.

[1] Lingard, VIII. 52.

[2] This was the popular opinion to a greater or less extent, until corrected by statute in 1562-3. "And forasmuch as it is doubtful whether, by the laws of this realm, there be any punishment for such as kill or slay any person or persons attainted in or on a præmunire: Be it therefore enacted, That it shall not be lawful to slay or kill such persons so attainted," &c. — 5 Eliz. Cap. I. Sec. XVIII.

to human nature to take away the life of God's anointed prince."[1] Hence, notwithstanding the instigations of the Papal conclave, no assassin had yet moved against the queen. On the other hand, an open and avowed action on the part of other potentates for her dethronement, while yet she stood unimpeached and uncondemned, would have been insanely impolitic,—a terrible precedent against princes. Hence, all action of the Popish league had hitherto been indirect and under cover. But were it supposed that Queen Elizabeth was abandoned of God, that her anointing was cancelled, that she had forfeited and lost the sanctity which attached to the princely office and even the common claims of humanity, no one — so far as he held her thus — would have scruples of conscience or of policy either against her dethronement or her assassination. There was one thing wanting, then, to make her fairly a mark for the archers of the league, — her spiritual outlawry, an edict of her excommunication.

It was at hand. For several months her case had been on trial in the Papal Court. English Catholic ecclesiastics — among whom was the sedition-mover, Morton — had deposed to her crimes against the See of Rome; and the judges had pronounced her obnoxious to the penalties of heresy. The Pope hesitated; but at length he signed the decree, on the 25th of February, 1569–70, declaring "Elizabeth, the pretended queen of England, the servant of wickedness, to have incurred the sentence of Anathema, to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ, to be deprived of her pretended title to the king-

[1] Harleian Miscellany, I. 115.

dom aforesaid; absolving her subjects from their oaths and duty of allegiance; commanding them all *not to obey* her; and innodating" — tying up — "all with the like sentence of *Anathema* who should do the contrary."[1]

Some of the Catholics in England received this bull with cordial satisfaction; but generally they disapproved of it, as uselessly exposing them to suspicion, harassments, and severities, and as tending to produce a civil war.[2] But more than this.

There were two opinions in the Romish Church respecting the Pope's divine right to deal with princes; both of which obtained, not with the Catholics of England alone, but with those also upon the Continent. By one party it was held, that, when the Pope should think it for the good of the Church, he might depose a prince and absolve his subjects from their allegiance; by the other, that he had no right to intermeddle with state affairs, and, by consequence, no right to annul the sovereignty of a prince, or the obligations of his subjects.[3] This latter opinion — as subsequently appeared — prevailed, though not universally, with the Catholics of England; and on this ground the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth was held by them of no authority, and of no force.[4] They did not admit that religious faith, or ecclesiastical authority, could touch the bonds of patriotism or loyalty. This will appear hereafter.

[1] Fuller, Bk. IX. pp. 93 – 95. Lingard, VIII. 59, 60.

[2] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 95. Camden, 148. Butler, I. 349.

[3] Butler, I. 7.

[4] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 95.

The queen "counted the bull but parchment, or a water-bubble,"—"as a vain crack of words that made a noise only"; and took pains to counteract it by laws, only so far as she saw, or thought she saw, that it instigated and emboldened her "bad subjects to work mischief."[1]

Early in the morning of the 15th of May, a copy of the bull was discovered, "hung like a squib" upon the palace-gate of the Bishop of London, near the cathedral church of St. Paul. "The rack" was soon put in play, and a confession extorted, that John Felton, "a gentleman of large property and considerable acquirements, but of an ungovernable temper," was privy to the act. This "lewd person" was immediately arrested; boldly confessed that he had set up the bull, and in August was hanged, drawn, and quartered for high treason.[2]

Though the majority of the English Catholics denied the validity of the Papal act against the authority of their queen, they still regarded with reverence its spiritual censures. To its unsparing

[1] Burleigh's "Execution of Justice," in Harleian Miscellany, II. 136, and in Holingshed, IV. 529. Camden, 148. Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 96.

In Vol. VIII. p. 62, Lingard gives a smart syllogistic answer of Pius V. to a request of Elizabeth, made through the Emperor Maximilian, that the bull might be revoked. That such a woman as she should have proffered such a petition, cannot be credited without good evidence. Add to this the positive denial of Fuller,—who gives Sanders, a writer of the day, by no means trustworthy, as the author of the story,—and it is evidently apocryphal.

[2] "Execution of Justice"; Harl. Misc., II. 136. Osborne, 36. Holingshed, IV. 252, 254. Butler, I. 350. Lingard, VIII. 61.

Lingard says, "he gloried in the deed"; Butler, that "he acknowledged the guilt of his action." The latter is sustained by Howell's State Trials, p. 1085. Camden (148) doubtless expresses the truth more accurately than either: "With an undaunted mind he confessed the fact, which notwithstanding he would not acknowledge to be a fault."

denunciation of the English Church and its worship, as apostate and heretical, they bowed; and their defection therefrom — but limited and voluntary during the last two or three years — now became religiously necessary and general. The established worship had not changed; but their Pontiff had spoken.[1]

Such had been the machinations of the Papal See, of its satellite princes, of its missionary priests — and such the domestic movements — against the person, government, and ecclesiastical polity of Elizabeth. The reader is asked to keep them in view, with all their ramifications, underplots, and specious pretences, because they show the reasons of future statutes, which — sweeping and terrible as they were — had some pretext of justification in the subtle, rancorous, baptized hostilities by which they were provoked; and because they throw light, not only upon statutes, but upon the character of the sovereign, who, as will appear, showed less hatred and less cruelty to the sect implicated therein than to the Puritans, whose abhorrence of disloyalty was equalled only by their abhorrence of Popery, and whose abhorrence of Popery was as large as human nature could hold.

[1] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 98. Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 30, 32.

"The question of the lawfulness of Catholics attending divine service in Protestant churches to avoid penalties, was differently regarded by English Catholic divines. The old priests — Queen Mary's — contended that it was not a thing *per se malum*; that, as the Common Prayer contained no positive heterodoxy, there was no divine prohibition of being one of the audience. Allen took a different stand, on the ground, chiefly, that *religious* commerce with schismatics and heretics was wrong and dangerous," &c. — Butler's English Catholics, I. 310, 311.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## THE PARLIAMENT OF 1571.

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS. — HER MAJESTY'S PROGRESS TO THE PARLIAMENT-HOUSE. — PARLIAMENT OPENED. — THE COMMONS FORBIDDEN TO ORIGINATE MATTERS OF STATE. — STRICKLAND INTRODUCES A BILL FOR REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH. — DEBATE UPON IT. — RESOLVE TO PETITION HER MAJESTY FOR LEAVE TO PROCEED THEREIN. — STRICKLAND DETAINED FROM THE HOUSE. — HIS DETENTION RESENTED BY THE COMMONS AS A BREACH OF PRIVILEGE. — SPIRITED DEBATE. — THE RIGHTS OF THE CROWN QUESTIONED. — DEBATE SUSPENDED. — STRICKLAND RE-APPEARS. — A PROTEST AGAINST MONOPOLIES. — THE PROTESTER AND THE COMMONS SCARED. — THEY RECOVER FROM THEIR FRIGHT. — PETER WENTWORTH — FOR THE DIGNITY OF THE HOUSE AND LIBERTY OF SPEECH. — BILL TO REQUIRE PROTESTANT COMMUNION. — DEBATED. — RETROSPECTIVE LAW. — WENTWORTH'S PROTEST AGAINST POPE-BISHOPS. — BILLS FOR REFORMATION LOST. — AN ACT FOR THE SAFETY OF THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY. — AN ACT AGAINST PAPAL BULLS AND OTHER SUPERSTITIOUS THINGS FROM ROME. — AN ACT TO REFORM DISORDERS TOUCHING MINISTERS. — THE COMMONS PETITION FOR REDRESS OF ABUSES IN THE CHURCH. — THE COMMONS REBUKED, AND THE PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

Soon after the congregation of the Hall of the Plumbers had been convicted, letters were received from Beza, to whom the most zealous Puritans paid great deference, deprecating as unlawful a separation from a Church in which sound doctrine was maintained.[1] Owing to this, or to the terrible punishment of confinement in the pest-house prisons of the day, or to both, we hear no more of separate religious assemblies for some years, excepting rather a mysterious affair in January, 1569–70.[2]

Yet of non-conformity there was no lack. The Puritans still resolutely evaded the use of the sur-

[1] Heyl. Presb., Bk. V. Sec. 37. [2] Strype's Grindal, 153 – 156.

plice, and of the Book of Common Prayer, whenever, and so far as, they thought they could do so with safety;[1] and the number of zealous non-conformists wonderfully "increased in all parts of the kingdom."[2] The University of Cambridge was full of them.[3]

But spies were placed in every parish "to watch the tripping of the clergy and the manners of the people," and to bring each class under the penal laws.[4] Consequently, ecclesiastical prosecutions were greatly multiplied, and many of the most valuable ministers were not only harassed by citation after citation before the spiritual courts, and by proceedings tediously and needlessly protracted, but were impoverished by the costs of their own and the sheriff's travel, and by the extortion of enormous fees. They were also suspended, deprived, imprisoned, and forced when liberated to seek their subsistence in foreign lands.[5] There was no more toleration in London for non-conforming ministers; for, upon Grindal's translation to the archbishopric of York, in 1570, Sandys, his successor in the diocese, ordered all such tolerations to be called in.[6]

At the same time, most of those who merely for their outward grace of conformity were permitted to retain their ecclesiastical livings, were more than suspected of being hearty Papists; and many of them were known as illiterate, licentious, profane swearers, gamblers, and drunkards.[7]

[1] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 38.
[2] Brook, I. 151.
[3] Hallam, 113.
[4] Strype's Parker, 260; Annals, II. 132.
[5] Neal, I. 112. Brook, I. 30.
[6] Neal, I. 115.
[7] See *infra*, p. 405, note 1. Hallam, 112. Brook, I. 30.

Public worship was neglected; the Lord's day was grossly disregarded; victualling-houses and shops were opened for traffic, people went hither and yon about their secular callings, and markets and fairs were thronged, on Sundays as on other days of the week. Yet, while scandalous curates were tolerated, and exemplary ministers "laid by the heels," impoverished, and driven into exile, the prelates moved languidly, and had failed to secure the action of Parliament against a profanation which was sapping the foundation of religion and morals.[1]

Although Mass-worshippers had been arrested and punished,[2] and although Papists, "flocking about the Court," had been excluded by order of the queen,[3] still some of them were to be found, not only in subordinate public offices, but in those of high honor and trust; and to some her Majesty granted license to keep Romish priests in their families, and winked at their celebration of the Mass.[4] Besides, immediately after the Northern insurrection, — was it to conciliate the class of religionists who were plotting against the Church and the realm? — the crucifix, which her Majesty had removed from her chapel in 1562,[5] "was brought in again, to the great disgust of the people."[6]

On the other hand, alarmed and disgusted by the uneasiness of the Puritans, — in whose dislike of ecclesiastical restraint she saw symptoms of political liberty, and whom she fancied mutinously dis-

[1] Strype's Annals, I. 532, II. 238.
[2] Haynes, 395.
[3] Strype's Parker, 269.
[4] Camden, 223. Butler, I. 361. Lingard, VIII. 61, note, and 84.
[5] Zurich Letters, p. 161.
[6] Strype's Parker, 310.

posed,[1] — the queen had again upbraided her bishops for suffering the neglect of public worship, and of the rites and ceremonies of the Church; and had ordered them to make a rigid inquiry for all such delinquents.[2]

Moreover, the influx of Romish priests, of which both parties of Protestants were sensible; the detection of some skulking in disguise; the aggressive movements of Catholic powers abroad, known minutely by those who were in the secrets of state; the object of the late insurrection; the issue of the Pope's anathema; the withdrawal of the Catholics from the established worship; — all these things, in connection with a late sickness of the queen, — in which she had been brought so near to death that she had, this time, *doubted terribly* whether "the ceasing of her reign at Whitehall *would* be the beginning of one in heaven,"[3] — had wrought intense anxiety lest Popery should gather strength again, and come in upon the nation like a flood.

Such was the state of religious affairs in April, 1571.

On Monday, the second day of that month, all London and Westminster were astir in holiday gear. Prentices and journeymen, in their long blue cloaks and flat caps, wearing the sixpenny love-tokens of their mistresses, curiously wrought and folded,[4] were lounging about the tap-rooms, or swaggering along the streets. Pretty maids and buxom housewives,

[1] Butler, I. 290. Mackintosh, I. 360.

[2] Strype's Parker, 281, 282.

[3] Strype's Annals, II. 267. Compare above, p. 279.

[4] Stow, 1039.

in ruffs of linen or cambric, — but ungratefully oblivious of neat Mistress Dinghen, to whose starching-craft they were indebted,[1] — were peeping from their windows, or chattering with gay beaux at their doorways. Mercers, who had that morning sold many a pennyworth of pretty things to pretty customers, found themselves deserted at nine of the clock, and were emptying their tills, or closing their shops. Soon the women, the maids, the prentices, the mercers, were leaving their homes, mingling in the streets, and moving merrily toward the ample thoroughfare which then skirted the river, from the queen's palace of Whitehall to Westminster Church. It was but a short distance between the two; and before ten of the clock the way was lined on either side by a dense throng, while every door and window was filled with people, and every roof suitable for the purpose bore its burden of human life and throbbing loyalty. The queen was to pass from her palace, — not, as in 1566, in her barge, but "in the ancient, accustomed, most honorable passage," — to open her Parliament; and her people were always eager to see and greet her when she moved in regal state.

At ten o'clock the trumpets sounded loud and long from the palace-yard, when her Majesty appeared at the grand entrance in her imperial robes, her heavy mantle being borne up from her arms by two of her nobles, until she was seated in her coach of state. A close-fitting kirtle of crimson velvet displayed the mature symmetry of her form. From her neck hung a rich collar, set with jewels; upon her head rested

[1] Stow, 869.

a coronet of gold, glittering with pearls and precious stones. Her coach was drawn by two palfreys draped with cloth of crimson velvet, richly embossed and embroidered. No sooner was her Majesty seated, than the trumpets gave another peal of joy, and the magnificent train of her attendants, which had already been formed and in waiting, began to move.

First rode the gentlemen sworn to attend her person; then, the Bachelor Knights of the Bath; then the Barons of the Exchequer; then, the Judges, with the Master of the Rolls, her Majesty's Attorney-General, and her Solicitor-General, — all arrayed in the insignia and robes of their orders and offices. Next followed the bishops, riding in their robes of scarlet, lined with meniver, their hoods, lined with the same, thrown back upon their shoulders. After these moved the Earls; and next, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his full robes. The hat of maintenance was carried before her Majesty by the Marquis of Northampton; and the sword, by the Earl of Sussex. On either side of her Majesty went the Pensioners, with their axes, and her footmen, men of extraordinary stature, symmetry, and strength, and without the least blemish or defect.[1] Next after the royal coach rode the queen's favorite, the Earl of Leicester, in respect of his office of the Master of Horse, leading her Majesty's spare horse. Then followed forty-seven ladies and women of honor, protected on each side by the Guard, in their magnificent uniform.

Along the whole crowded course, the heralds and

[1] Osborne, 55, 56.

the Earl Marshal maintained perfect order, and with quiet ease. The trumpeters sounded; the people shouted, "God save the Queen!" "God save the Queen!" and her Majesty graciously acknowleged their plaudits through the whole of her progress.

Upon reaching Westminster Church, she alighted at the north door, whence she was ushered within by the Dean, and other officials there belonging, to the table of administration; while her noble attendants, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and others, were seated before her according to rank. Then there was singing by the choir; a prayer by the Dean; a sermon by Dr. Cooper, the Bishop of Lincoln; and the singing of another psalm. Immediately after these services, her Majesty left by the south door for the Parliament-House, with the Lords in the same order as before, all on foot, a rich canopy being carried over her head the whole distance. She proceeded directly to the chamber of the Lords, and took her seat in her royal chair of estate; her robe supported by the Earl of Oxford; the sword by the Earl of Sussex, kneeling at her left hand; and the hat of estate, by the Earl of Huntington, also kneeling at her left. So soon as she was seated, the Lords, her Judges, and her learned Council, took their respective places; the Lords spiritual on her right, the Lords temporal on her left, the others in the midst of the chamber on the woolsacks. At her Highness's feet kneeled on each side of her one of her gentlemen of the chamber. The knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Lower House, so many of them as could enter, stood without the bar at the farther end of the chamber. When the bustle of arrangement had sub-

sided, her Majesty rose; and after a single sentence of salutation to the Parliament, directed the Lord Keeper Bacon to declare the cause of their being assembled.[1]

In obeying her command, he dwelt largely upon the twelve years prosperity and peace of her Majesty's reign; asserting roundly that God had blessed them in her, not only with a *Rara Avis*, but with a *Phœnix*. They were wanted, he said, — but in this matter particularly the bishops, — to consider whether the ecclesiastical laws for the discipline of the Church were sufficient or no; to see whether the temporal laws were too stringent or too loose, too few or too many; and, especially, to fill the Exchequer, for the Queen's Majesty's customs had decayed, though in time they would revive; "but then," said he, "you know the horse must be provided for whilst the grass is in growing."[2]

He then directed the Commons to choose their Speaker; and the ceremony of opening the Parliament was over.

On Wednesday the Commons presented themselves with their Speaker elect, Christopher Wray, Sergeant at Law, who ably "disabled" himself, was "approved," and offered the usual petitions. In answer to that for liberty of speech, the Lord Keeper replied, "that her Majesty — having had experience, of late, of some disorder and certain offences, which must still be accounted such although they had not been punished — did therefore declare,

[1] D'Ewes, 136, 137, compared with 59, and with Strype's Annals, I. 435.

[2] D'Ewes, 137–139.

through him, that the Commons would do well to meddle with no matters of state but such as should be propounded to them."[1] How much this was heeded, we shall see.

Puritanism had outgrown its swaddling-bands. There was a strong party in the Commons who were bent upon a reformation of religion for the relief of the non-conformists, upon whom the bishops had borne harder and harder.[2] On the second day after the election of the Speaker had been confirmed, commenced a series of proceedings, in the course of which was a sharp struggle between the fledgling prerogative of the subject and the old prerogative of the crown.

The lists were opened by Mr. Strickland, "a grave and ancient man of great zeal," who couched a lance for the honor of God and the Church. He was member for Scarborough and a Puritan.[3] On the 6th of April, he addressed the House in a long and spirited speech against certain disorderly and unseemly things which were suffered in the Church.

"Great hath been God's goodness," said he, "towards this nation, in giving us the light of his Word. Gracious hath been the disposition of the Queen's Highness, by whom, as his instrument, God hath wrought so great things towards our deliverance from the superstitions of Rome. In other nations, where God hath suffered the same good light to shine, the professors of the Gospel have published to the world a Confession of their Faith; and for

[1] D'Ewes, 141.

[2] Strype's Annals, III. 93. Neal, I. 115.

[3] Mackintosh, III. 156, 158, note (London edit. 1831).

this purpose learned men in this realm have in time past travailed, — Martyr, Fagius, and others. And before this time, an offer thereof was made in Parliament that it might be approved. But it was hindered; how, I will not say. This book is in the custody, as I do guess, of Mr. Norton, a member of this House; and I call upon him to produce the same on this floor, whereof I hope he will not fail. After so many years, we ought not to permit errors of doctrine, if there be such, to continue.

"Although the Book of Common Prayer — God be praised! — is drawn very near the truth, yet are there some things inserted more superstitious than in so high matters be tolerable; as, in the administration of the sacrament of baptism, the sign of the cross to be made; with some other ceremonies. Such like other errors there be therein; all which may well be changed without note being taken, as if of our dropping or changing of religion; it being a reformation not contrariant, but pursuant, to our profession, which is, to have all things brought to the purity of the primitive Church and institution of Christ.

"There be also abuses of the Church of England. There be also abuses of churchmen. All these, it were high time were corrected.

"Ask you what abuses? I will answer. Known Papists, if so be they do only make show of conformity to the rites and ceremonies laid down in the Liturgy, are admitted to have ecclesiastical government and great livings. At the same time, Protestant ministers — honest, learned, godly — have little or nothing of preferments. Preferments! Verily,

the offices which the Holy Ghost hath ordained, and the livings which He hath appointed thereto, be made merchandise, — bought and sold, — bought and sold for *money!* O Simon Magus! Simon Magus! that *thou* shouldst have thy prentices and craftsmen in the Church of England! Here, one man is allowed to have divers ecclesiastical livings. There, men who have no manner of parts for the duties of God's most sacred ministry, be hoisted therein by favor. Yea, boys are dispensed with, to have spiritual promotions. Let them but make friendship with the Master of Faculties, then their lack of faculty, by youth, or by ignorance, or by gracelessness, be no hinderance to their advancement; by whose presence in the sacred office, fit men be excluded; by whose nothingness therein, the flock of Christ be starved.

"These be grave matters, Mr. Speaker; so grave, so nearly touching God's glory and the Church which he hath purchased, that it well becometh this Parliament to give attention thereto. And well were it an we be not sparing of time, but give it both largely and freely; so that all reproachful speeches of slanderers may be stopped, drawbacks in religion be brought forward, over-runners of the law reduced. I do therefore move that a committee of some convenient number be assigned by this House, to have conference with the Lords of the Spirituality for the consideration and reformation of these matters; not only of things exceptionable in the Book of Common Prayer, but of the flagrant abuses in the holding of ecclesiastical offices."[1]

[1] D'Ewes, 156, 157, and Strype's Annals, III. 93, 97, 98, compared.

Mr. Norton, a wise, bold, and eloquent man, said in reply, "that truth it was he had a book tending to the same effect; not drawn, however, by those whom Mr. Strickland had named, but under King Edward by the act of thirty-two" (persons); "viz. eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight temporal lawyers. These thirty-two, having in charge to make ecclesiastical constitutions, took the same in hand. It was drafted by Mr. Dr. Haddon, the learned civilian, and Master of Requests to the queen; and was penned by Mr. Cheeke. From this book," he added, "Mr. Fox had of late prepared one, after considerable pains, which had been newly printed." This book he then produced; saying, "that he approved of Mr. Strickland's motion; but especially of that part of it for avoiding and suppressing Simoniacal Ingrossments."[1]

[1] D'Ewes, 157, compared with Strype's Annals, III. 97; Parker, 323.

"By virtue of the Act of 32," is the reading in D'Ewes, p. 157. Still more strangely, in Hansard's Parliamentary History, I. 734, the reading is, "The Book was drawn by virtue of the Act of 1532."

The Act 25 Henry VIII. Cap. XIX., after reciting that convocations of the clergy should be assembled only by the king's writ, and that the clergy had promised *in verbo sacerdocii* never to enact or execute new canons without the royal assent and license, enacts that the existing canons should be submitted to the examination of thirty-two persons, to be appointed by his Highness; sixteen of them to be of the upper and nether Houses of Parliament, of the temporality, and the other sixteen to be of the clergy. It further enacted, that such canons and constitutions as his Highness and the said thirty-two persons, or the more part of them, should deem worthy to be continued, should thenceforth be of force, and the residue thenceforth void. By Sec. VII., all such canons, &c. as were not repugnant to the laws or statutes of the realm, nor to the prerogatives of the crown, were to remain in force until the examination and review of the said thirty-two persons should have been completed.

By subsequent acts, this ecclesiastical commission was extended, from time to time, during the life of the king. The provisions and objects of these acts were not carried into effect while he lived. A new com-

A committee was then appointed "for the redress of sundry defections in these matters."

On the 14th — Saturday — Mr. Strickland, one of this committee, introduced "a Bill for the reformation of the Book of Common Prayer, and some Ceremonies in the Church"; which bill he pressed very earnestly, and it was then read for the first time.[1] It seems to have embraced the book introduced by Mr. Norton, with a Preface by Mr. Fox, recommending it to Parliament.[2]

Upon this bill, the Treasurer of her Majesty's Household, Sir Francis Knollys, remarked: "If the matters mentioned to be reformed are heretical, then verily they are forthwith to be condemned. But if they are but matters of ceremony, then it behooveth us to refer the same to her Majesty, who hath authority, as chief of the Church, to deal herein. But for us to meddle with matters of her prerogative, is not expedient. Withal, what cause there may be why her Majesty doth not run and join with those who seem most earnest in such matters, we know not. Nor are we to inquire what such cause there may be; for in time and due order she hopeth to bring out these matters of herself."[3]

mission of thirty-two persons was appointed, to prepare and complete a code of canon law, by the Act 3 & 4 Edward VI. Cap. XI. From this commission was appointed a committee of eight persons, who framed a code; the ratification of which was prevented by the death of Edward. These acts, repealed by Mary, were revived by Elizabeth; but nothing was ever done to carry them into execution.

Yet, by the reviving of the Act 25 Henry VIII. Cap. XIX., it thenceforth became law, that no canons could be of force which were "repugnant, contrarient, or derogatory *to the laws or statutes of the realm.*"

[1] D'Ewes, 166, 176.

[2] Collier, VI. 498.

[3] "The Treasurer of the Household, though he allowed that any heresy might be repressed by Parlia-

"Zeal in these matters," said the Comptroller of her Majesty's Household, "is to be commended; but neither this time nor place is fit. And since we acknowledge her Majesty to be Supreme Head, we are not in these petty matters to run before the ball, which to do, and therein offend, were great folly. In other words, heady and hasty proceedings, contrary to the law and before it, do rather hinder than help."

"Conscience enforceth me to speak on this matter," said Mr. Pistor, "even though to the hazard of my credit; for hundreds of this honorable and worshipful assembly are well able to teach me, and at their lips would I gladly learn. Yet have I grief of which I would fain be disburdened. It is this,— that matters of such importance, stretching higher and further to every one of us than the monarchy of the whole world, are either not treated of, or so slenderly, that, after more than ten days' continual consultation, nothing is concluded. The cause is God's. All others before us are but terrene, yea, trifles in comparison. Call you them never so great, or pretend you that they import never so much,— subsidies, crowns, kingdoms, — I know not what they

ment, (a concession which seems to have been rash and unguarded,) yet affirmed that it belonged to the queen alone, as head of the Church, to regulate every question of ceremony in worship." — Hume, III. 70.

I conceive that Knollys neither affirmed nor denied anything about the power of Parliament to *repress* heresy; that he only said that it should be "condemned" by *some* power which he did not specify. It should be remembered that, although he was a Councillor, he was a Puritan, "a zealous opposer of bishops." (Strype's Parker, 394.) Perhaps he *spake* as a courtier, and *withheld* speech as a politic Puritan. Or it may be that, Puritan as he was, he revered the vested rights of the crown.

be in comparison of this. But one thing I know, — for which I do the most thank God, — 'Seek ye *first* the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you.' This rule is the direction; and this desire shall bring us to the light; whereupon we may stay ourselves, and then proceed to the rest. Certes, we have no abiding city *here!*"

Mr. Snagg — in the opinion of the House falling far below Mr. Pistor in matter and style — maintained Strickland's articles; particularly that for not kneeling when receiving the sacrament. "I would rather," said he, "that the law require us even to lie prostrate at this ordinance, than, by kneeling, to countenance the old superstition of transubstantiation.[1] But, rather than either, let every man be left at liberty in this behalf to do according to his own conscience and his spirit of devotion. This would be nothing contrary to the royal prerogative, or derogatory thereto."

But the awe inspired by the prerogative, as presented by the members of the Privy Council, swayed the House; and it was agreed, upon the question, that a petition be made to her Majesty for her license and privity to proceed in this bill, before it be any further dealt in.[2]

After vehement debates upon a bill "Against Licenses and Dispensations granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury," and upon two other "shameful usages" and "griefs," the Parliament adjourned, it being Easter Eve, until Thursday next.

When they re-assembled after the recess, Mr. Strickland was not in his place. Early in the week,

[1] Compare *ante*, p. 226, note 4.

[2] D'Ewes, 166, 167.

he had been called before the Privy Council, and commanded by them to forbear coming to the Commons' House, and in the mean time to attend their further pleasure.[1] His absence was now noticed, and a rumor that he was detained by order excited no little commotion among the members; and on the next day, — Friday, the 20th, — Mr. Carleton called the attention of the House to the fact.

"A member of this House," said he, "is detained from us; by whose command, or for what cause, I know not. It should be by us considered, Mr. Speaker, that he is not a private, but a public man; — the property of the country; the representative of a multitude, his constituents; and, moreover, a part of ourselves, as is the hand, or the foot, or the eye, of the body. Neither may the country be wronged, nor the liberty or the wholeness of this body be infringed. For these reasons, we may not permit his detention from this House. Whatsoever may be the purport of his offence, the proper place for his arraignment is at our own bar. Let him be brought here, then, to be questioned and to answer."

To this Sir Francis Knollys said in reply: "Let us be wary in our proceedings; and not venture farther than our assured warrant may stretch, nor hazard our good opinion with her Majesty on any doubtful cause. I say, her good opinion; for you have but just told us, Mr. Speaker, of her gracious approbation; how she hath in plain words declared unto yourself, that she hath good intelligence of our orderly proceedings; that she hath as good liking of us as ever she hath had of any Parliament since she came unto the

[1] D'Ewes, 176.

crown; and that she wisheth we should give her no other cause than to continue the same. This high reckoning of her Majesty hath been to our great contentation. Therefore, I say, let us not hazard our good opinion with her Majesty, nor lose this our joy, on any cause which we do not wholly understand. The man that is meant, is neither detained nor misused. But, upon certain good considerations, he is only required to expect the queen's pleasure upon certain special points. In this his attendance upon her Majesty's pleasure, I dare assure this House that he shall neither have cause to mislike or complain; since as much favor be meant unto him as in reason he can wish. Moreover, he is in no sort stayed for any word or speech by him in this place uttered; but for the exhibiting into this House of a bill for the reformation of the Book of Common Prayer and some ceremonies of the Church,[1] which bill was against the prerogative of the Queen, — a thing not to be tolerated. Nevertheless, the construction put upon this his fault is, that he hath rather erred in his zeal and bill offered, than to have meant, maliciously, anything contrarious to the royal dignity. Yet after all, it is no new thing, but that which hath oft been seen, that speeches have been examined and considered of. So, if he were called to account for words uttered, it were no marvel to make stir about."

But the House was not satisfied with soft words from a Privy Councillor. The case evidently was one of privilege, touching upon their liberties; and they were resolved to press it. Sir Nicholas Arnold

[1] D'Ewes, 176.

followed Mr. Treasurer with a spirited, vehement exhortation, that the House should have a care for their liberty; adding, "that, on such an affair, he was forced to speak, and so to run into danger of offence to others, rather than to be offended with himself for cowardice and silence."

"Mr. Strickland must be sent for," said Mr. Yelverton. "The precedent of his detention is perilous. Although, in this happy time of lenity, among so good and honorable personages, and under so gracious a prince, nothing of extremity or injury is to be feared, yet times may change; and, if we permit this usage now, we may thereby give occasion and ground that the like usage may hereafter be construed as of duty, and be enforced.

"All matters which are not treason, or too much to the derogation of the imperial crown, are in place here, and to be permitted; here, I say, where all things come to be considered of, where there is such fulness of power, that it is the place where even the right of the crown is to be determined. To say that Parliament hath no power to determine of the crown, *is high treason.*

"Men come not here for themselves, but for their countries. It is fit for princes to have their prerogatives; but even their prerogatives must be straitened within reasonable limits. The prince cannot of herself make laws; neither may she, by the same reason, break laws. The speech offered here, and the offer of the bill, are not to be condemned as evil; for if there be anything in the Book of Common Prayer either Jewish, Turkish, or Popish, the same surely is to be reformed. Amongst

the Papists it is bruited, that, by the judgment of the Privy Council, Mr. Strickland is taken for an heretic; and this it behooveth us to keep in mind."

But Mr. Fleetwood argued otherwise; showing, from precedents which he quoted, that members had been committed to prison, or stayed from the House, by command of the crown; and that remedy there was none, but to be humble suitors in their behalf; whereupon he urged, that the only and whole help of the House for the ease of their grief was, to be humble suitors to her Majesty; and that, therefore, they should neither send for him, nor demand him of right.

But they who were present of the Privy Council thought differently; preferring, for politic reasons, that the House should neither demand their member, nor be urged to sue for him. Either expedient was fraught with risk. While Mr. Fleetwood was speaking, they whispered together; and the result of their conference was, that the Speaker propounded that the House should simply suspend their consultations upon the matter. This suggestion was probably understood as significant. The House quietly acceded to it, and passed to other business. It was a timely expedient to save the honor of the House, and the dignity of the queen, and to avert a hazardous contest between the two.

The next morning the result of the armistice appeared in the person of Strickland himself, who resumed his seat in the House just as they were referring to committees the bill for coming to church and receiving the communion. To signify their joy,

they immediately placed him on one of the committees.[1]

This experiment of the queen upon the temper of the House, inspiring them, as it did, to a stand so resolute for Parliamentary rights, — eliciting also a doctrine so true, and new, and therefore bold, as the dependence and limitation of monarchy, and so sagacious a care against precedents which might in future prejudice the freedom of the subject, — is an incident of no mean interest to whoever would trace our political liberties to their infant sources. But it is a memorable landmark to us, who are surveying the times from a religious stand-point, because in this House of Commons the Puritan party was confessedly in the ascendant.[2]

But another royal experiment had been made, upon another Puritan. The queen had granted licenses, or patents, to four of her courtiers, under which they monopolized certain commercial privileges at the port of Bristol, to the utter ruin of some six or eight thousand of her Majesty's subjects.[3] Against this monster wrong, Robert Bell, a Puritan, had protested on the 7th of April. To a proposition then made for a subsidy, he had replied, that by these and such licenses *to do things contrary to the statutes*,[4] a few were enriched, while the multitude were impoverished; and that, when a remedy should be provided for such enormities, a subsidy would willingly be paid.[5]

Immediately after this speech, — which gave such

[1] D'Ewes, 168, 175, 176.
[2] Hallam, 88, 149.
[3] D'Ewes, 242.
[4] Ibid., 159.
[5] Ibid., 158.

offence "above," that her Majesty sent a message to the House ordering them not to talk so much,[1] — Bell had been summoned before the Privy Council, who gave him so rough a handling that he returned to the House — who well knew where he had been — with so scared a look as infected every member.[2] Just a week after, Sir Humphrey Gilbert took upon himself the task of deepening this impression. He attacked the motion of Mr. Bell as a perilous one. He declared that it tended to the derogation of the imperial prerogative; that to say that the queen was not to use the privileges of the crown, was to say that she was no queen. People were in danger, he intimated, who uttered such speeches; and so were they who permitted them to be uttered, hearing them without rebuke.[3]

The House were so daunted, particularly by the woebegone appearance of their offending member, that for nearly a fortnight after his chastisement not a man dared touch a matter of importance; and whenever they ventured upon simple matters, they labored more that they might not be misunderstood, than upon the matters in hand.[4]

But on the 20th of the month, the effect of this experiment had worn off. Peter Wentworth, another Puritan, then opened his mouth in resentment of

[1] D'Ewes, 159.
[2] Ibid., 242.
[3] Ibid., 168.
[4] Ibid., 242.

The time of Bell's schooling by the Council is not stated in D'Ewes. But I think it must have been the very day of his offensive speech, or Monday, the second day after it; for the House had certainly recovered their courage on the 20th, when they entered upon Strickland's case. "Ten, twelve, or sixteen days" was the duration of their fright, as stated *from memory* by Wentworth four years after. (D'Ewes, 242.) It could not have been "sixteen."

the speech of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, — but without mentioning his name, — declaring that it proved its author to be a fawning courtier, and was an insult to the manhood of the Commons; for it was an attempt to frighten men who ought to be free. He then exhorted the House to have a care for their credit, to maintain free speech, to preserve their liberties, and to eschew all liars.[1]

It was upon the very heel of this exhortation, that the Commons came to the rescue of Strickland. Thus, the first "experiment" had only paved the way for the resistance and failure of the other; and through the whole affair we see the footprints of the Puritan.

But the debates in the Commons were, in other particulars, indicative of the reforming spirit which pervaded that body, and were remarkable for some of the opinions disclosed.

A bill was introduced early in the session, requiring all persons above a certain age, not only to attend upon divine worship, but also to receive the communion, according to the forms prescribed by law.[2] Its object was stated by Mr. Norton. He said, "that it was necessary, in the present circumstances of the realm, not only to secure the outward show of Protestantism, but, in God's cause, to discover if possible secret religious opinions; to sift the good seed in the commonwealth from the cockle, that the one *might be known* from the other. Now the very touchstone of trial who be those *rebellious* calves whom the Pope's bull hath begotten, must be *the receiving of the communion*."[3]

[1] D'Ewes, 175.
[2] D'Ewes, 177.
[3] Ibid., 156, 157. Lingard, VIII. 77.

It was objected to the bill, by Mr. Aglionby, that it was not proper to enforce conscience, as was proposed in the article for receiving the communion.[1]

To this Mr. Strickland replied, — upon the spur of the moment, it should be remembered, — "that conscience ought indeed *to be left free*, provided it did not prompt one *to disturb the common quiet*"; a sentiment perfectly consistent hitherto with the religious behavior of the most zealous Puritans, — consistent also with the highest principles of liberty short of licentiousness and anarchy. He said further, "that the bill did not propose to straiten conscience; for it did not propose to force the receiving of the communion, which a man might still refuse if offensive to his conscience. The only thing *forced* was, not his conscience, but his purse."[2]

However much, upon a strict verbal construction, this concluding statement might be sustained, there was moral sophistry in it. This was exposed by Mr. Aglionby, who declared it to be at variance with the morality of the Gospel, and even with that of enlightened Paganism.

"Religion," said he, "is the distinctive fact of difference between a man and brute beasts; therefore it is proper to enforce by law the worship of God, inasmuch as not to come to church is to make a man

[1] D'Ewes, 161.

[2] Ibid.

I am confident that I have here expressed Strickland's true meaning; and that I shall be justified by any one who scrutinizes his speech as recorded by D'Ewes. To this interpretation, however, Hallam's opinion — which, I think, must have been the result of a cursory reading — is positively opposed. "It was objected, that consciences ought not to be urged. But Mr. Strickland *entirely denied* this principle." (p. 89.) The appeal can only be to the text of D'Ewes.

seem no man. But there is a difference between requiring one to come to church, and requiring him to receive the communion. In the former case, we require only a decent external act; and neither Jew nor Turk requires more, save that their religion shall not be impugned. But in the latter case, we should be more intolerant than Jew or Turk; for we should enforce the conscience of a man, which is eternal and invisible, which cannot be restrained by any policy, which is not in the power of the greatest monarchy. And in answer to that which hath been said, that the conscience is not straitened by this bill, but only a penalty of the loss of goods is adjudged, I reply this out of Cicero de Legibus,—that by the voice of his own nature man is told to care for his fellow, and not seek to bereave another of his necessary livelihood. But more. Saint Paul saith we must not do evil that good may grow thereby; we must not take from a man his goods, to the end that he shall do what is not in his power. This compulsory bill condemneth the not coming to communion, which some cannot in conscience do; so that the only favor which it giveth to such is, that they be either impoverished to beggary, or quit their native land. Besides, St. Paul hath pronounced another penalty upon him who cometh unworthily, to wit, death and damnation, as guilty of the blood and death of Christ. Some, then, to escape the penalty of this your bill, must meet the penalty appointed by the Apostle. And yet again; there is no example in the primitive Church to prove a commandment for coming to communion, but only an exhortation. St. Ambrose did excommunicate Theo-

dosius, and *forbid* him to come, because he was an evil man. For us to will and command men to come because they are wicked, — it is too strange an enforcement, and without precedent."[1]

On that branch of the bill which concerned coming to church, Mr. Aglionby "moved that the law might be without exception or privilege for any gentlemen in their private oratories; and quoted Plato and Cicero, both prescribing, for the observation of laws, an *equality* between the prince and the poor man, *not giving scope to the one above the other*."[2]

Another moved, "that the penalty of the law — a pecuniary mulct — should not go to promoters, by whom in most cases no reformation was sought, but only private gain."[3] He might have added, "and private malice." "Promoter" was another word for "informer"; one who promoted a law by informing against those who disregarded it.[4]

Another shrewdly observed, that there were some "inconveniences" attending the existing law upon this subject; intimating covertly that it might be mended. One inconvenience he particularly specified, — that many ministers, notwithstanding all that had been done to enforce uniformity, still deviated, some in one way, some in another, some more and some less, from the forms prescribed; — that the law not only required the minister to conform, but forbade under a penalty any one to be present at such service; that, at the same time, it prescribed a penalty upon whoever was absent from his parish

[1] D'Ewes, 177.
[2] Ibid., 161.
[3] Ibid., 157. Strype's Parker, 260.
[4] Camden, 87.

church. "Now," said he, "here is a dilemma. If a man come not to church, in such a case, he forfeits twelve pence; if he come, he forfeits a hundred marks."[1]

The "mending" of the law proposed for obviating this "inconvenient dilemma" was, not to discipline the ministers, but that deviations from the prescribed form should be counted no offence, provided the deviator did not deviate into *Popish* forms.[2] Here the bill rested to be considered; but it failed to become a law.

In discussing the bill for the Act 13 Eliz. Cap. I., — which will be stated below, — it was attempted to make the penalty of treason attach to any one who *had ever* impugned the queen's title to the crown. Even two Puritans, Mr. Norton and Sir Francis Knollys, defended this proposition; and, it must be confessed, with some ingenuity of argument.[3] But it was eloquently presented in opposition, that, of present time, man's wisdom may judge; future time, his policy may reach to; but to call again the time past, or to raise what is dead in any kind, man may not, nor in reason is it to be presumed; — that to make treason of a fault already committed, which, at the time of perpetrating the same, was not in the degree of treason, was a precedent most perilous."[4] Whether this advocate of common justice was a Puritan or not, his sentiments were so obviously in accordance with reason and humanity, that they prevailed; and the reflex bearing of *this* bill was expunged.

[1] 1 Eliz. Cap. II. Sec. III. D'Ewes, 161.
[2] D'Ewes, 177.
[3] Ibid., 163.
[4] Ibid., 162.

In reviewing our sketch of the proceedings in this Puritan House of Commons, we gather much to their honor which merits our remembrance; — the exposition of the impracticability of uniformity; their manly stand for freedom of debate; their jealousy of dangerous precedents; their attempt against venial informers; their claim of equal privileges of worship to the poor and to the rich; and their resentment of the monstrous monopoly of commercial privilege. It is worthy of remark, that the House of Commons in the new Parliament, which assembled the next year, elected for their Speaker the bold mover against this last abuse.[1]

There were seven bills "for the reformation of several enormities and ceremonies in matters of religion and Church government" introduced into this Parliament; six of which had been stayed in the last Parliament by its dissolution.[2] On the 25th of April, a committee of six — one of whom was the Puritan, Peter Wentworth, "the most distinguished asserter of civil liberty in this reign"[3] — was appointed to wait upon Archbishop Parker for answer touching matters of religion.[4] They attended upon his Grace accordingly; having "a model of reformation, wherein, as some articles of religion were allowed by them, so others, already received into the Church, were left out."[5]

"Why," asked his Grace as he surveyed their draft, "why put ye out of the Articles of Religion

[1] D'Ewes, 205, 242.
[2] Ibid., 180, 184, 185.
[3] Hallam, 117.
[4] D'Ewes, 179.
[5] Strype's Annals, III. 98.

those for Homilies, for the Consecrating of Bishops, and others like?"

"Surely, sir," said Wentworth, "because we have been so occupied in other matters, that we have had no time to examine them, how they agree with the Word of God."

"What! Surely ye mistook the matter! Ye will refer yourselves wholly to us bishops therein?"

"No, by the faith I bear to God!" exclaimed the intrepid man. "We will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were to make you popes. Make ye popes who list, for we will not."[1]

On the first day of May, the Commons received a message from the Lords, "that the Queen's Majesty, having been made privy to the Articles of Religion," — the most of which related to matters of faith, the others to the consecration of bishops and priests, to the supremacy, and to the power of the Church to order rites and ceremonies,[2] — "liked very well of them, and intended to publish them, and have them executed by the bishops, by direction of her Highness's regal authority of Supremacy of the Church of England; and not to have the same dealt in Parliament."[3] This occurring so soon after his interview with Wentworth, it seems probable that the Archbishop, disturbed thereby, had suggested

[1] D'Ewes, 239, 240. Strype, in his Life of Parker (p. 394), assigns this incident to the Parliament of 1572; but places it under its right date in his Annals.

[2] Hallam, 117.

[3] D'Ewes, 180.

this message to the queen as a politic one to avoid collision with the Commons. But notwithstanding, the Commons did proceed upon some of the seven bills; three of which they afterwards passed and sent to the Lords.[1] By reason of the queen's jealousy of her supremacy, particularly excited for the occasion by some of the hierarchy,[2] these bills all fell to the ground. Three others, which received the royal sanction, claim our attention.

By the first[3] it was enacted, that whoever should affirm that any other than Elizabeth ought to wear the crown, or that the laws did not bind its right and descent, or should publish her to be heretic, schismatic, tyrant, or infidel, should be adjudged guilty of high treason.

To affirm by writing or printing, during her life, that any one not designated by Parliament, or not the natural issue of her body, was, or ought to be, her heir or successor, and to aid or abet the publishing of such writing or printing, was made punishable with a year's imprisonment and the forfeiture of half one's goods, for the first offence; with the penalties of a præmunire, for the second.

With the relation of the Queen of Scots to the crown, and the machinations of the Catholics in her behalf, in our eye the cause and object of this law are obvious.

In the preamble to the next act,[4] it is stated that seditious persons, meaning to reinstate Papacy and to excite rebellion in the realm, had procured bulls or writings from the Pope which purported to ab-

[1] D'Ewes, 185.
[2] Ibid., 184.
[3] 13 Eliz. Cap. I.
[4] 13 Eliz. Cap. II.

solve and reconcile[1] those who would forsake obedience to the queen, and yield themselves to his usurped authority. Wherefore it was enacted, that whoever should put in use any such Papal instrument, or under color thereof should absolve or reconcile any one, or should willingly be absolved or reconciled, and whoever *had* obtained, since the queen's first Parliament, or should obtain or publish after the 1st of July following, any such Papal writing, and whoever should abet and counsel any of all such offences, should be judged guilty of high treason; that whoever should aid, comfort, or maintain such offenders after the said acts or offences, should incur the penalties of a præmunire. To conceal for six weeks a proffer from any one of any such Popish writings, or of absolution or reconciliation, should be counted misprision of treason. To bring, deliver, cause to be delivered, and to receive with intent to wear or use, any *Agnus Dei*,[2] crosses, pictures, beads, or such like, consecrated by the Pope or by his authority, should subject one to the penalties of a præmunire. Other sections provided for the exemption of informers from any of these penalties, and for the pardon of penitents.[3]

[1] See *ante*, p. 340, note 7.

[2] "The *Agnus Dei* is a composition of white wax and the powder of human bones dug out of the catacombs, or ancient burial-places of the Christians at Rome. It is in the form of an oval medal, with a representation of the Holy Lamb and Christ Jesus, who is still styled *Agnus Dei*, or the Lamb of God, on the one side, and the Pope's effigy who consecrated it, on the reverse. The Church of Rome ascribes many virtues to this sort of relic, and confines the touch of it to persons in orders." (Harleian Miscellany, II. 125, note.) It was always "consecrated by the Pope on Low Sunday." (Collier, VI. 495.)

[3] I have been minute in my abstract of this statute; and the more so, because it is imperfectly present-

It will be perceived that this statute declared that to be treason which *might be* no treason; that it decreed the most savage mode of death which man ever invented upon the Catholic priest, or penitent, however innocently, in regard to the state, they *might* observe certain prescript duties of their religion; that, while the queen erected her cross in her oratory, the same symbol worn in all religious simplicity and purity in the bosom of the peasant maiden doomed her to a dungeon for life; that even to feed the starving, to clothe the naked, to relieve the sick, to minister to the dying, was ordained, under certain circumstances, a crime. Such was the legislation of men resolute for liberty so far as they had measured it, but ignorant of its true nature and dimensions. It is not to be justified. Yet who would have avoided it where the odor of Rome was as the odor of the Upas, where the ingenuity and strength of Rome were tasked against the commonwealth, and where religion and state affairs were so identified that no human eye could distinguish the loyal devotee from the sanctimonious traitor? With like fears, with like antipathies, and under like political circumstances, should *we?* For the retrospective clause of the third section, there is no apology.

The bill containing "the Articles of Religion," which the queen liked, but chose to take care of

ed by Hume, Hallam, Neal, and others, who do not bring to view its most cruel points. Even Lingard has failed to do it justice, mistaking the penalties of præmunire, instead of those of treason, as attaching to the aiders and abettors of *absolution* and *reconcilement*; and not bringing to view, that the *comforters* and *maintainers* of offenders, after the fact, were involved in a præmunire. (VIII. 77.)

herself, was one of the six bills introduced to the Commons in 1566, and now re-introduced on the 6th or 7th of April.[1] The articles were those "for sound Christian religion," adopted and printed by the Convocation in 1562–3,—"The Thirty-Nine Articles." As the queen stopped this bill, the only Parliamentary sanction which was given to these Articles was, by implication, in the "Act to reform certain disorders touching the ministers of the Church." By this act,[2] "every person under the degree of bishop, who doth or shall pretend"—claim—"to be a priest or minister of God's holy Word and sacraments by reason of *any other form* of institution, consecration, or ordering than the form ..... now used, ..... shall ..... declare his assent, and subscribe, to all the articles of religion *which only concern* the confession of the true Christian *faith and the doctrine of the sacraments* comprised in a book imprinted and intituled 'Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishop and Bishops ..... and the whole Clergy in Convocation, holden at London in the year of our Lord God a thousand five hundred and sixty-two,' &c."

To maintain *doctrine* contrary to the said Articles was made punishable by deprivation of ecclesiastical promotions.

Twenty-three years of age, and subscription, were required for admission to any benefice with cure.

None, permitted by any dispensation or otherwise, should *retain* any benefice with cure, being under twenty-one years of age.

None should be made minister, or be admitted to

[1] D'Ewes, 132, 160, 184.

[2] 13 Eliz. Cap. XII.

preach or administer the sacraments, being under twenty-four years of age, nor unless of sound religion and honest life, nor unless he be able to answer in Latin according to the said Articles, or have special gift and ability to be a preacher.

In these last three sections the truth of Strickland's most startling statements on the 6th of April is confessed, and their influence is apparent.

But the first section is of large and peculiar significance. A part of the Articles of Religion — those relating to the rites, ceremonies, order, and policy of the Church — it does *not* sanction. Again; the Catholics alone dissented from the articles "which concerned the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments"; therefore the Puritan clergy were not hereby excluded from the offices and livings of the Church, for a subscription to the other articles was not required. "In the Book made in the time of King Edward, a subscription to these other articles *seemed* to be required." *Therefore*, this Parliament of 1571, "misliking" such subscription, "*put it out*," by inserting the words, "which *only* concern the confession of the true Christian faith," &c.[1] But there is still another point of more importance. The validity of all forms of ecclesiastical ordination then practised throughout Christendom, whether by bishops, presbyters, or otherwise, is indirectly *admitted;* and this admission — implying, as it does, that neither form was then questioned by any of the parties assenting to the act — is, for that reason, the more significant and emphatic.

[1] Strype's Whitgift, 196; and Appendix, Bk. III. No. XVI. p. 79, "Article First."

Nor is this important admission to be considered extra-ecclesiastical, because it was Parliamentary; for it had the deliberate assent of the head of the Anglican Church, who claimed "the full authority which the Popes had usurped";[1] and whose Archbishop, even, had already declared that "this claim to Papal jurisdiction he would by no means dispute."[2]

These last two points of this section will claim attention hereafter.

When the Commons found themselves precluded, by the action of the crown, from effecting further reformations in religion, they resorted to supplication; petitioning her Majesty either to recommit those subjects to her Parliament for proper legislative provision, or to secure the desired ends by some other means. By its faithful disclosure of deplorable facts, this petition left her Majesty without excuse as "Overseer of the Church"; for it was disregarded and unavailing. "For lack of true discipline in the Church," said this paper, "great numbers are admitted to the ministry who are infamous in their lives and conversation. The gifts of those who have any gifts are in many places useless, by reason of pluralities and non-residency. Thus infinite numbers of your Majesty's subjects are like to perish for lack of knowledge. By means of these things, together with the common blaspheming of the Lord's name, the most wicked licentiousness of life, the abuse of excommunication, the commutation of penance, the great number of atheists, schismatics daily springing

[1] Strype's Whitgift, 260. [2] Collier, VI. 467.

up, and the increase of Papists, the Protestant religion is in imminent danger. Wherefore, — in regard first and principally to the glory of God, and next in discharge of our bounden duty to your Majesty, besides being moved with pity towards so many thousands of your Majesty's subjects, daily in danger of being lost for want of the food of the Word and true discipline, — We, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, are humbly bold to open the griefs, and to seek the salving of the sores, of our country; and to beseech your Majesty, — seeing the same is of so great importance, — if the Parliament at this time may not be so long continued as that, by good and godly laws, provision may be made for supply and reformation of these great and grievous wants and abuses, that yet, by such other means as to your Majesty's wisdom shall seem meet, a perfect redress of the same may be had. By such measures, the number of your Majesty's faithful subjects will be increased, Popery will be destroyed, the glory of God will be promoted, and your Majesty's renown will be recommended to all posterity."[1]

But her Majesty and her Primate were Precisians; more zealous and painstaking for "a show of wisdom in will worship," for "the handwriting of ordinances after the commandments of men," for the exact appliance of "the very ornaments of their religion," than for the preaching of the Gospel, the ability of its ministers, or the suppression of vice. "External matters in religion so employed clergy and laity, that the better and more substantial parts of it were very little regarded."[2]

[1] Neal, I. 116. [2] Strype's Parker, 395.

So does a Levitical ritual, when the occasion for its language is passed, overshadow the Gospel which once it eloquently symbolized. So natural is it for a worship muffled by "ornaments" and forms, to displace that which is in spirit and in truth. So easy is it even for the good, where importance is given to outward ceremonies, to forget or overlook the vital truth, that "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

The queen brought the Parliament to a close, by dissolution, on the 29th of May; not, however, without an acid reprimand to the Commons. To the Speaker's parting address, Sir Nicholas Bacon replied, "Mr. Speaker, her Majesty hath commanded me to say, that like as the greatest number of them of the Lower House have, in the proceedings of this Session, showed themselves modest, discreet, and dutiful, as becometh good and loving subjects, so there be certain of them, although not many in number, who in the proceedings of this Session have showed themselves audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous; calling her Majesty's grants" — of Bristol patents — "and prerogatives" — as Overseer of the Church — "in question, contrary to their duty and place that they be called unto; and contrary to the express admonition given in her Majesty's name in the beginning of this Parliament, — which it might very well have become them to have had more regard unto. But her Majesty saith, that, seeing they will thus wilfully forget themselves, they are otherwise to be remembered. And like as her Majesty allows and much commends the former sort, for the respects

aforesaid, so doth her Highness utterly disallow and condemn the second sort, for their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly, thus by superfluous speech spending much time in meddling with matters neither pertaining to them, *nor within the capacity of their understandings*."[1]

If they to whom such a taunt was ministered took it meekly, there must have been in their hearts something of the grace of God.

[1] D'Ewes, 151.

# CHAPTER XV.

## THE PRESBYTERIANS AND THE PARLIAMENT OF 1572.

A Puritan Petition to the Convocation of 1571 rejected. — New Canons for enforcing Uniformity — The Statute 13 Eliz. Cap. XII. strained to enforce Subscription. — Order from the Queen to enforce exact Uniformity. — Ejected Ministers preach. — Thomas Cartwright oppugns the Constitution of the Anglican Church. — Driven from Cambridge. — Field and Wilcox resolve to petition Parliament. — Parliament assemble, May 8th. — Foreign Plot for Invasion and Revolution. — Alarm of the Nation. — "The Great Cause" of the Queen of Scots. — Elizabeth objects to Proceedings against her in the Degree of Treason. — Both Houses dissent from the Queen. — The Reasons for the Proceedings of Parliament against Mary. — Elizabeth desires another Bill. — The Parliament suddenly adjourned by the Queen. — Bills in the Commons for Rites and Ceremonies. — The Queen demands them. — Her Majesty herself the Defender of the Faith.

The ministers of the Church who had been beggared by deprivation pleaded hard for pity and relief before the Convocation of the bishops and clergy, who, as usual, met at the same time with the Parliament of 1571. They came in the name of their flocks without pastors, of their wives and children without bread, praying that they might be suffered to preach the Gospel of Christ, without risk of fines and imprisonment; that they might at least have equal chance of livelihood with conforming Papists, who were notorious for vice, and who, under cap, cope, surplice, and side-gown, were whispering to the people in corners, that there was no salvation out of the Church of Rome, and that the new religion was

about to fall.[1] "The wood was" *not* "green" now. It began to consume. The cry was in vain. The Convocation were deaf. They passed canons yet more stringent, requiring the *precise* observance of the Liturgy; that no minister should preach, or even in a private house read the Common Prayers, without a license.[2] It was also ordered, "That every bishop should, before September next, call to him all public preachers that should be in their respective dioceses, and require of them their faculties for

[1] Strype's Annals, I. 264. Brook, I. 171.

The Papists were sanguine in expectation of what they called "The Golden Day," predicted by their astrologers and conjurers, when the queen's power should be ended by her deposition or death, and when their own religion should revive and flourish. (Strype's Parker, 293; Annals, III. 278.)

The petition mentioned in the text stated: "Those who observe your ceremonies, though they be idolaters, common swearers, adulterers, or much worse, live without punishment, and have many friends." This statement, and that of Strickland before the Parliament, that known Papists were tolerated in the ministry, were confirmed by a book published about this time by Mr. Northbroke, minister of Radcliffe in Bristol. None of these public statements appear to have been contradicted. Northbroke said: "Certain ministers, Papists, avow themselves such in their discourses. They subscribe, and observe the order of service, and wear the sidegown, square cap, cope, and surplice. They run into corners and say to the people, 'Believe not this new doctrine; it is naught; it will not last long. Though we use order among them outwardly, our heart and profession is from them, agreeing with the Mother Church of Rome. No, no; we do not preach, nor yet teach openly. We read their new devised Homilies for a color, to satisfy the time for a season.' Several now-a-days of the Popish priests," continued Northbroke, "are thieves, perjurers, murderers, — I blush to repeat the rest; and some are arraigned for *it* at the bar in Exeter."

One of the most scandalous of these was Blackal, — a priest in whose exposure and arrest Northbroke was instrumental. He was convicted of affixing the Archbishop's seal to a counterfeit writing, and of having four wives; in atonement for which he did penance in a white sheet at Paul's Cross on the 6th of August; and on the 10th, was set in the pillory at Cheapside. A singular proportion between the punishment and the crimes! The sheet was for polygamy; the pillory for forgery.

[2] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VI. Sec. 41.

preaching which they hold under authentic seal; and either to keep them or annul them. And then, making a prudent choice, whom he should find, by age, learning, judgment, innocency, modesty, and gravity, fit for so great a function, freely to give new licenses; yet they first to subscribe the Articles of the Christian Religion approved in Synod, and promise to maintain the doctrine contained in them, as being most agreeable to the truth of God's Word."[1]

These canons had ecclesiastical force only, — not the force of law. For this reason, Grindal, now the Archbishop of York, absolutely refused to join in pressing them,[2] and Archbishop Parker, to divide from himself the odium of his proceedings, associated therein Horn, Bishop of Winchester, and Cox, Bishop of Ely, — both of Frankfort memory.[3] With such Precisians in concert, the prospects of the nonconformists were gloomy.

Early in June, several of the most prominent ministers about London, who were known to dislike the Statute of Uniformity, were summoned to appear before their ecclesiastical lords at Lambeth;[4] there to surrender their licenses, and to qualify themselves for new ones. One was called to a reckoning for a book which he had published in Queen Mary's time; another was sifted for his opinions, political, theological, ceremonial; and so on, and so on; but all were required to subscribe to the Articles of Religion.[5]

[1] Sparrow, 225, 226. Strype's Parker, 321. Collier, VI. 449.

[2] Strype's Parker, 322, 330. Neal, I. 117, 119.

[3] Strype's Parker, 330.

[4] Ibid., 325.

[5] Neal, I. 119. Brook, I. 176, 193; II. 125.

Hitherto, the bishops with all their severity had been comparatively sparing in pressing subscription to the Articles of 1562–3; and the ministers themselves had been the more resolute in refusing it, or in qualifying it with reservations,—in each case because these articles had received no countenance from the Parliament.[1] But the Statute 13 Eliz. Cap. XII. had given a sort of semi-legal authority to the Articles, of which the bishops now took the advantage, and because of which the Puritans, desirous to avoid disturbance, were the more willing to subscribe. They had no objection to the Confession of Faith and the doctrine of the holy Sacraments; and to the Book of Common Prayer they would assent, with the simple qualification, "so far forth as is agreeable to the Word of God." Now, to their amazement, they were required to subscribe to all the Articles; to those concerning the episcopal government and the public Liturgy, as well as to the others. They appealed to the statute; to the unequivocal and emphatic word, "*only*." They were told, that even "in the first part of the statute an ambiguity" attached; that that potent word was not to be found in the other sections, particularly in the second, which designated "the deprivation of ecclesiastical promotions"; that its words, "the said articles," meant, not the said articles of "doctrine," but the said articles, *without exception*, which were adopted by the Convocation of 1562–3.[2] Such a construction was worthy

[1] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 102.

[2] Collier, VI. 499.

Collier, to be sure, does not state that this was *the precise shape* in which the bishops justified their requisition; but he thus justifies it himself, if I apprehend his meaning. Nor can I doubt that he truly repre-

of the "trifles" in support of which it was extorted. It was of course resisted. "Subscribe *the whole* of the articles," was the rejoinder, "and pledge your words to maintain everything therein as altogether agreeable to the Word of God;[1] or resign quietly, or be deprived."[2] Thus the edge of a statute, shaped by the Puritans themselves, only to protect their own clergy and to cut off Catholic heresy, was turned against the witnesses of Gospel truth.

On the same grounds were the licenses of all preachers cancelled, and the same subscription required. Consequently, great numbers were ejected from their livings;[3] which, in the phrase of the Primate, was "bringing them to some better stowage."[4]

It would seem, however, that the arch-Precisian himself was conscious of some lameness in his authority; for on the 20th of August, he was furnished with the following mandate from the queen.

"Elizabeth: —

"Most Reverend Father in God, Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved, — We greet you well. . . . . We, minding earnestly to have a perfect reformation of all abuses attempted to deform the uniformity prescribed by our laws and injunctions, and that none should be suffered to decline, either on the left hand or on the right hand, from the direct line limited by authority of our said laws and injunctions, do earnestly, by our authority royal, will and

sents, and meant to represent, *their* process of interpretation, for I can conceive of none other by which their conclusion could have been reached.

[1] Collier, VI. 499.

[2] Strype's Parker, 325.

[3] Strype's Annals, III. 167; Appendix, Bk. I. No. XII. Neal, I. 117. Brook, I. 32.

[4] Strype's Parker, 330.

charge you, by all means lawful, to proceed herein *as you have begun;* and for your assistance we will that you shall, by authority hereof, and in our name, send for the Bishops of London and Salisbury, and communicate these our letters with them, and straitly charge them to assist you from time to time, betwixt this month and the month of October, to do all manner of things requisite to reform such abuses as aforementioned, in whomsoever you shall find them."[1]

"This letter, so roundly penned, put life and vigor into the Archbishop, in this troublesome business";[2] and its directions, as we shall see, he intently obeyed.

Little had her Majesty learned of human nature. Little had she profited by two experimental lessons, given under her own eye, showing that religious severity defeats its own aims. She had known that, in a single year, thousands had been converted from Papistry to Protestantism by the fires which her sister had kindled at Smithfield.[3] And right well she knew, that the Papal anathema against herself had only energized her own opposition and that of her Protestant subjects, and provoked galling enactments against those of them who paid him allegiance. Yet she pursued the same policy, sowed the same seed, cherished the same fruit.

Many of the non-conformists who were deprived of their livings and licenses came not to repentance, but were the more resolute in their non-conformity.

[1] Murdin, 183. Strype's Parker, 330.

[2] Strype's Parker, 331.

[3] Strype's Memorials, V. 470, 471.

They still preached in their own or in other churches, culling from the English Book at discretion, or discarding it for the Book of Geneva, until her Majesty ordered the church-wardens, on their peril, to exclude them from the parish pulpits.[1] These extreme measures crowded them beyond the narrow field of visible things, — the vestments of the priesthood, the sign of the cross, and kneeling at the communion. Very naturally, they began to question the authority of a Church which would thus deal with the sincere followers of Christ, — to question whether there was not something wrong in its very constitution.

In 1570, Thomas Cartwright, Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, a profound scholar, of remarkable pulpit eloquence, of high repute for acuteness, judgment, and virtue, began to discuss, in his lectures at the University, the ecclesiastical policy of the Church. In these lectures, and otherwise, he boldly maintained the following propositions: —

1. That the names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished.

2. That the offices of the lawful ministers of the Church, viz. bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to their apostolical institution;[2] bishops to

[1] Strype's Parker, 325.

[2] As early as 1563, Dr. Turner, the Dean of Wells, called in question the office of bishop as it existed in the English Church. "Who gave bishops authority more over me, than I over them, either to forbid me preaching, or to deprive me, unless they have it from their Holy Father the Pope?" (Strype's Parker, 151.) It is probable that like questions had been asked, in a private way, before the rigors adopted in 1564–5; particularly in the circle of those who had been conversant with the Geneva school. But I do not find such opinions given out in a way to attract public attention, until provoked by persecution and propounded by Cartwright.

preach the Word of God and to pray, deacons to be employed in taking care of the poor.

3. That the government of the Church ought not to be entrusted to bishops' chancellors, or the officials of archdeacons; but every church ought to be governed by its own ministers and presbyters.

4. That ministers ought not to be at large; but every one should have the charge of a particular congregation.

5. That no man ought to solicit, or to stand as a candidate for the ministry.

6. That ministers ought not to be created by the sole authority of the bishop;[1] but to be openly and fairly chosen by the people.[2]

In addition to these propositions, other opinions were incidentally expressed in his lectures, some of which were as follows: that in reforming the Church it is necessary to reduce all things to the apostolic institution; that no man ought to be admitted to the ministry who is not capable of preaching; that Popish ordinations are not valid; that only canonical Scripture ought to be read in the churches; that equal reverence is due to all canonical Scripture, and therefore there is no reason why the people should stand only at the reading of the Gospel; that equal reverence is due to all the names of God, and therefore there is no reason why the people should bow only at the name of Jesus; that it is as lawful to sit at the Lord's table as to kneel or stand; that the Lord's Supper ought not to be administered in private, nor baptism, by women or

[1] Neal has it — "by civil authority."

[2] Neal, I. 114. Brook, II. 140.

lay persons; that the sign of the cross in baptism is superstitious; that it is reasonable and proper, that a parent should offer his own child in baptism, making a confession of that faith in which he intends to educate it, without being obliged to answer *in the child's name*, "I will," "I will not," "I believe," &c., nor ought it to be allowed that women, or persons under age, should be sponsors; that the observation of Lent, and fasting on Fridays and Saturdays, is superstitious; that trading or keeping markets on the Lord's day is unlawful; that in ordaining ministers, the pronouncing of those words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," is ridiculous and wicked.[1]

We see here, not the opinions of Cartwright only, but, by contrast, the opinions and practices of the Church to which all these statements were in opposition.

For the maintenance of these "heterodoxies and misrepresentations," as Collier calls them, these "untrue, dangerous, and seditious propositions, tending to the ruin of learning and religion," Cartwright was deprived of his lecture and professorship, and expelled from the University. Doctor John Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, but now Vice-Chancellor of the University, was his chief persecutor; and, when he had taken away his means of livelihood, had the gracelessness to upbraid him with "going up and down, doing no good, and living at other men's tables"!

"That I was not idle," said Cartwright, "he knew well. Whether I was well occupied, or no, let it be judged. I lived, indeed, at other men's tables, having

[1] Neal, I. 114. Brook, II. 141.

no house nor wife; but not without their desire, and with small delight of mine, for fear of evil tongues. And although I were not able to requite it, yet toward some I went about it, instructing their children partly in the principles of religion, partly in other learning."

He soon went abroad, as others had been obliged to do, to earn that bread which he could not earn in his native land.[1]

This was an important event in the history of the English Church; and its issues will continually appear, as we pursue our retrospective record. The views of Cartwright, so far at least as they were opposed to the hierarchy, were eagerly embraced by those who were smarting under its rod, and by others who were in jeopardy for non-conformity.

Wandsworth was a quiet hamlet, although it was only four miles from London. There might have been eight hundred or a thousand people, great and small, living there in 1571–2; some of them dyers; a few, mechanics; but most of them farm-tenants on an humble scale. When they returned from the city, where they often went with their produce or wares, they used to wonder how people could live so far off, and in such a noisy place. "Certainly the queen never would, but for the good of her subjects!" They never had a more exalted idea of her good sense, than when her gay fleet of barges shot by them, as she turned her back upon London to find fresh air, and real life, and the beauties which God made, at Richmond. They always

[1] Neal, I. 115. Brook, II. 141–143.

knew when she was on her way; for they lived close on the south bank of the river, and could hear "the drums beating and the trumpets sounding," which told of her progress. Then they would drop their work, and hurry to the water's edge, — the old man with his staff, and the young wife with her nursling babe; and when the royal barge came opposite, the bell in the church up there on a green knoll would ring in ecstasy; and the people, with their heads uncovered, and kerchiefs waving, would shout, "God save the queen!" so stoutly, so heartily, one would have thought there never was such a queen. But when she leaned forward from beneath her canopy and waved her own scarf in return, and bowed, and smiled, "*was* there ever such a queen?" Their good minister — *afterwards* minister at Aldermary Church in London[1] — used to stand there with them upon such occasions. No one of them cried, "God save the queen!" more stoutly or more devoutly than he. Nevertheless, this John Field was a Puritan.[2] Like many of his non-conforming brethren, he had adopted the opinions of Cartwright, and resented the subscription contrary to the intent of the statute, by which the Puritans were persecuted anew. But this did not abate his loyalty.

One mild afternoon about the middle of April, 1572, his good friend, Mr. Thomas Wilcox, had come from London to visit him; and they were sitting together in a rustic arbor of Mr. Field's little garden, talking heartily, as brother ministers always do when

[1] Compare Neal, I. 121, and Brook, I. 322, and Heyl. Presb., Bk. VII. Sec. 3. Neal is mistaken.

[2] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VII. Sec. 3. Brook, I. 318 – 324.

by themselves. Wilcox was "a learned, zealous, and useful preacher in Honeywell Lane." He was a young man, not more than twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, but in high repute for piety and talent.[1] Like Mr. Field, he was married, was a father, and a Puritan. So there were many matters on which they sympathized. They had been conversing for some time about the astounding and arbitrary perversion of the late law of Parliament requiring subscription from certain of the clergy, when Mr. Wilcox exclaimed with vehemence: "There is no hope from her Majesty. There is no hope from the bishops, or the Convocation. This tyranny will not be minished. Brother! let us renounce this Antichristian lordship! Let us establish for ourselves a church order after the apostolical model, and leave the issues with God."

"It would be crushed to powder."

"Nay; be not faithless, but believing. There be no necessity laid upon us to proclaim our deed. Think you the Church of Galatia, or of Ephesus, went to the priests of Diana, or of Jupiter, and *told* them of their secret assemblies?"

"Prithee, brother! an you frame your purer discipline, and the bruit of it be not heard, what will it profit? We escape not the rule of the Church established, with her bishops and archbishops, her Liturgy and her saints' days. Wherewithal will our yoke be lightened?"

"At least, we can have our deacons and our elders; and they chosen by the people, instead of being thrust upon them."

[1] Brook, II. 185.

"And the same not known?"

"We can devise *some* way."

"And when a congregation, having no minister, doth elect one to their own liking, how prefer him to the benefice so as he can claim the living?"

"Let the congregation choose; let the presbytery examine and approve. Then is he a minister called according to the rule of the Gospel. After that, let him apply to the Bishop for the imposition of hands. It will not mar his calling, while it qualifieth him in the eye of the law."

"And the patron?"

"Let our classes ply their influence with patrons to present to the livings whom the churches elect."

"An your elder elect believe, as many do, that the imposition of hands by one not himself rightly called to his bishopric hath no virtue, what then?"

"Let him cross the sea and take ordination in the Reformed churches there. By the same late law which requireth subscription to doctrine, that be counted true ordination, I trow."[1]

"Troth! The like be subscribing the Articles which *only* concern the true Christian faith and the doctrines of the sacraments. Sith they deny that 'only' meaneth 'only,' they need not exceed themselves to say, that ordination save by a lord bishop be no ordination, — maugre the law."

"They have already allowed that the imposition of hands of a presbytery *is* ordination; because they require not, of those who have received it, the hands of a bishop, but subscription *only*."

Mr. Field mused; and Mr. Wilcox kept silence

[1] Neal, I. 114, note.

that he might muse. Several minutes passed thus before Mr. Field replied: "You have an inventive head, of a truth, brother! Moreover, in the invention, there be no lack of fair seeming. Nevertheless, there be one hope of remedy that you have not propounded. Methinks it should be tried first."

"Marry! nominate it. Mine ear itcheth," — with a short ironic laugh.

"Parliament."

"Doubtful," muttered Wilcox.

"Possible. Be not faithless, but believing; so you just said to me."

"Granted, — *possible*."

"We can make interest among the members."[1]

"But the bishops?"

"Outvote them."

"The queen. To the smallest bill for reform, an she saith, 'La Roigne s'advisera,' what then? Your bill proveth a castle in the air."

"Be it so. *Then* we can try if your plan hath substance, or be a phantom. We can do it with a better seeming, and a better conscience, when the last hope by other means hath failed."

"How will you move Parliament?"

"I would lay before them a plan for establishing the Church according to the plan of presbytery, as in the primitive Church, — as in the Church of Geneva. I would prove to them how ministers should be chosen, and how deacons; how they should be set apart to their offices; what be their duties; and how all elders, each being bishop over his own congregation, should be of equal and joint authority in the gov-

[1] Neal, I. 121.

ernment of the Church at large. I would tell them, too, how corrupt is the present government of the Church; how the shepherds that be, keep not the wolf from the fold; how they care more for the bell on the wether's neck, or the mark of the cross on the fleece, than for the feeding or housing of the sheep; how they put the crib so high that the lambs can get no fodder; and how they scatter and beggar and imprison the under-shepherds who cannot say Shibboleth, or who lack gay gear. I would tell them, and prove it withal, that bishops, as they make them to be, are contrary to the Gospel. And, in fine, I would entreat that discipline more after God's Word, and agreeable to the foreign Reformed churches, may be established by law."[1]

"Will you draw up such a paper?"

"With God's help and yours."

"Why mine?"

"In sooth, 'two be better than one, because they have a good reward for their labor; and a threefold cord is not easily broken.' Besides, time presseth. Parliament will soon assemble. We have to bestir the members in our behalf; we must draw up our complaint and prayer with painful carefulness; we must have other brethren to revise and approve it."

And thus it was agreed. They were to prepare each his part; they were to meet again, form their separate writings into one; and, if approved by their brethren, to present it to Parliament. Whereupon they parted; and Wilcox, in a little boat, glided down to London.

A new Parliament was assembled on the 8th of

[1] Neal, I. 121. Brook, I. 319.

May, 1572. In his opening speech, the Lord Keeper recognized the scarcity and unfitness of the ministers of the Church; evils which, he said, it behooved the bishops speedily, diligently, and carefully to rectify. He censured the indolence and timidity of ecclesiastical officers in not duly executing discipline. "In consequence of this negligence," he added, "the laudable rites and ceremonies of the Church, *the very ornaments of our religion*, are ill kept, or at least have lost a great part of their estimation; and the common people in the country universally come seldom to Common Prayer and Divine service." He recommended a plan for a systematic and vigorous enforcement of the ecclesiastical laws; advising, in addition, "that the bishops should devise and exhibit to Parliament temporal acts for the amending and reforming of these lacks, that thus the civil sword might support the sword ecclesiastic." In regard to affairs strictly civil, he said that the greatest which concerned them was "the defence against the foreign enemy abroad and his confederates brought up and bred among themselves."[1] This last point it is necessary to explain.

From the time when she took refuge in England from her rebellious subjects, Mary, Queen of Scots, had been held as a prisoner of state by her royal kinswoman. As soon as this her true situation became evident, her name was made the fulcrum on which to rest all the plots of the religious and political enemies of Elizabeth.[2] Of this, she and her ministers were aware; and, when too late, they had

[1] D'Ewes, 192–195.

[2] Norris to Cecil; Haynes, 466. Camden, 179.

heartily regretted their error in making Mary their captive, and as heartily wished her out of the realm.[1] At length, in 1571, Mary, justly irritated by her protracted wrongs, and despairing of relief at the hands of her captor,[2] had assented to a plot for an invasion of England, and for a domestic insurrection in concert, which had for its object the overturning of the government of Elizabeth and the instating of herself in her room. Ridolpho, the Florentine, was the agent in England of the conspiracy. A leader was needed, however, of noble blood, and of influence among the people, to head the insurrection at home.[3] The power, rank, and popularity of the Duke of Norfolk were sufficient recommendations to Ridolpho. Taking advantage of the fact, that this nobleman had fallen from the royal favor and confidence, and that he was smarting under the disgrace of a late imprisonment, the foreigner succeeded in entangling him, to some extent at least, in this nefarious scheme, which included an engagement of marriage between the Duke and the Scottish queen.[4] Ridolpho then left the kingdom to notify the Pope and the king of Spain that preparations were ripe in England, and to move them to action.[5] These two potentates were the chiefs of the conspiracy.

"M. Mignet has recently brought to light some remarkable facts. On the 28th of June, 1570, a letter from Pius V. was presented to Philip II. by an agent just arrived from Rome. 'Our dear son,

[1] Haynes, 467; Norris to Cecil. Cabala, 138, 155; Cecil to Norris.

[2] Camden, 156.

[3] Ibid., 157.

[4] Ibid., 157. Lingard, VIII. 86.

[5] Lodge, II. 53; Burleigh to Shrewsbury. Camden, 179.

Robert Ridolfi,' says the writer, 'will explain (God willing) to your Majesty certain matters which concern not a little the honor of Almighty God. . . . . We conjure your Majesty to take into serious consideration the matter which he will lay before you, and to furnish him with all the means your Majesty may judge most proper for its execution.' The Pope's 'dear son,' accordingly, explained to the Duke of Feria, who was commissioned by Philip to receive his communication, 'that it was proposed to kill Queen Elizabeth; that the attempt would not be made in London, because it was the seat of heresy, but during one of her journeys; and that a certain James G—— would undertake it.' The same day, the Council met and deliberated on Elizabeth's assassination. Philip declared his willingness to undertake the foul deed recommended by his Holiness; but, as it would be an expensive business, his ministers hinted to the nuncio, that the Pope ought to furnish the money." [1]

Philip had been provoked by Elizabeth's seizure of certain ships of his containing treasure; [2] and was further stimulated by his zeal for the Catholic faith. He was also encouraged by the spirituality and the religious houses of his kingdom, who pledged him two millions of ducats for the enterprise; for four hundred thousand of which the Archbishop of Toledo alone made himself responsible.[3] Nor was Pius V. behindhand in the business; but entered into it with

[1] "The details of this affair may be found in the Historie de Marie Stuart, by Mignet, Vol. II. p. 159, &c." — D'Aubigne, V. Preface, pp. vii., viii.

[2] Camden, 179.

[3] Murdin, 221; letter from Spain to Lord Burleigh.

apostolic zeal, promising Philip to pawn, if necessary, all the goods of his see, to its very chalices, crosses, and sacred vestments, to further the enterprise of invasion, — an enterprise so holy, so acceptable to God, so beneficial to the Church and to a world lying in wickedness.[1] The plan was, to operate upon England by a Spanish army from the Netherlands, — four thousand horse and six thousand foot. It was confidently believed that there were enough of the queen's disaffected subjects who would effect an efficient rising in favor of the invaders the moment they should land at Harwick, the port agreed upon; and that the queen's parsimony and the effeminacy of her people would render her throne an easy prey.[2] "Never," said Philip to Cardinal Alexandrino, "never was any conspiracy entered into with better advice, nor with greater consent and constancy concealed, which in so long a time was never discovered by any of the conspirators. Forces might in four and twenty hours' time have easily been transported out of the Netherlands, which might at unawares have surprised the queen and the city of London, restored religion, and established the Queen of Scots on the throne.[3]

But the conspiracy was discovered in the hour of its ripeness, in the summer of 1571,[4] to the great consternation of the Privy Council. They were in-

[1] The Life of Pius V. by Hieronomo Catena, Secretary to Cardinal Alexandrino, the Pope's "nephew." Published with "the Privilege" of Sixtus V., in 1588. Camden, 180. Lingard does not notice this material witness.

[2] Murdin, 222; letter to Burleigh. Camden, 157.

[3] Hieronomo Catena.

[4] Digges's "Complete Ambassador," 107. Harleian Miscellany, II. 460–462.

stantly busied day and night at the Tower in ferreting it out, by the examination of those whom they had seized.[1] The queen ordered that certain of the examinates "should find taste of the rack, if fear thereof should not move them to utter knowledge."[2] Norfolk was immediately committed to the Tower; and in January, 1571–2, was tried for high treason, and unanimously condemned by a jury of his peers.[3]

Such were the transactions which occasioned the Parliament of 1572; "chiefly called for consultation and deliberation touching the dangers of her Majesty and the realm by reason of the Scottish queen."[4]

The whole nation was in a ferment; the Catholics apprehensive that the discovery of such a plot would entail greater severities upon the Queen of Scots and upon themselves; the Protestants alarmed and indignant at such peril to crown, realm, and religion, and convinced that there would be no safety for either so long as Mary should live. These latter opinions swayed the Parliament, and in the House of Commons were universal.[5]

Immediately after the Lord Keeper's opening speech, Robert Bell, Esq., of the Middle Temple, London, was chosen Speaker of the Commons, — the same who was so frighted by the Council in the time of the last Parliament. On Saturday, the 10th, he was "presented, accepted, and allowed." On Monday, the 12th, the very first business day after

[1] Lodge, II. 56. Wright, I. 392, note.

[2] Ellis, 1st Series, II. 261.

[3] Wright, I. 392. Hume, III. 86.

[4] D'Ewes, 204, 225.

[5] "All men now cry out of your prisoner," wrote Burleigh, under date of September 7, 1572, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Mary's keeper. Lodge, II. 75.

the organization of Parliament, both Houses entered at once upon "The Great Cause," by appointing, at the queen's commandment, a large joint committee for "deliberation and consultation." Report of the doings of this committee was made to the Commons on the 19th; immediately upon which the House resolved, "That for the safety and preservation of the queen's person and of the realm, proceedings ought to be had against the Scottish queen in the highest degree of treason,[1] and that of necessity with

[1] The proceedings against the Queen of Scots for treason, and like proceedings against John Story, appear oddly when brought into juxtaposition.

Story has been mentioned (Chap. VI.) as a malignant persecutor under Mary of England; as boasting of it in his opposition to the Bill for Uniformity; and as entering the service of the Duke of Alva. "Like cup, like cover," says Fuller. In his new home, he repudiated his native country, devoting himself to Alva's schemes against England with all the venom of a fanatic and a renegade. The Duke make English merchandise contraband at Antwerp, and Story was his zealous agent in searching for it. He did this with so much vigor and cruelty, that his person was inordinately coveted by English merchants, who set a trap to catch him. One Parker entered the port of Antwerp and suborned men to whisper that there were Bibles and other heretical books on board; a sort of goods for which Story was particularly voracious. No terrier ever rushed upon a haunt of vermin with more eagerness than did Story beneath the deck of the English skipper. The hatches were shut upon him; and when he next saw sunlight, it was under his native sky at Yarmouth. He was tried and condemned for high treason; and in June, 1571, executed. On his trial he was charged with having conspired against the life of the queen and for the invasion of her kingdom. The question was, whether, these things being true, he was guilty of treason. He denied that he was; and on this ground, — that he was no sworn subject to the queen of England, but to the king of Spain. He was tried and sentenced, on the ground that he was English-born, and that no man can renounce subjection to his native government. (Digges, 105; Burleigh to Walsingham. Zurich Letters, No. CLV; Horn to Bullinger. Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 84. Camden, 123, 168. Holingshed, IV. 260. Fox, III. 1023. Strype's Annals, III. 124; Parker, 464. Mackintosh, I. 369.)

One would think that, if Story could not shake off allegiance by voluntary expatriation, Mary could

all *possible speed*." This was passed "by the voice of the whole House."[1] On the 21st, this resolve was sent to the Upper House, with request "to know their lordships' liking" of the same; to which immediate answer was returned, "that they had themselves resolved in the Great Cause much to the like effect; and that, for better and more speedy proceeding therein, they did pray immediate conference with the previous committee of the House." The Commons thereupon directed the committee accordingly.[2]

The second day after, Mr. Comptroller declared from her Majesty, "that she did thankfully accept the care of the House for her safety; but that, partly in honor and partly in conscience, it was her mind to defer, though not to reject, the determination for a bill against the Scottish queen for high treason, and that she liked better with all convenient speed proceeding should be had in a second bill,[3] which should be only to disable the Scottish queen for any claim or title to the crown."[4] The Commons instantly resolved, "That nevertheless, *with one whole voice and consent*, they did still rely upon the proceeding for high treason as most necessary;

not acquire allegiance by involuntary expatriation; that if Story, a native-born Englishman, could not transfer fealty to Spain, Mary, a native-born Scotchwoman, could not have fealty to England thrust upon her; that if Story, by birth a subject, could not become a subject elsewhere by oath, Mary, by birth a sovereign princess, could not become a subject elsewhere without oath. If he, the subject, still owed allegiance to England, and therefore had done treason, *a fortiori* she, the queen, owed no allegiance to England, and therefore had done no treason.

But as we see in 13 Eliz. Cap. II. any act was *created* treason in those days, as it suited the convenience of the law-makers.

[1] D'Ewes, 206, 207.

[2] Ibid., 213.

[3] Ibid., 213.

[4] Ibid., 216.

without any liking or allowance of the other proposition." This resolve they sent immediately to the Lords, requesting that, if they concurred therein, further conference might be had. The next day — the 24th — the Lords replied, "that they did like well and approve of the opinion of the Commons, and would join in committees of conference in the afternoon in the Star-Chamber."[1] The result was that on Wednesday — the 28th — these committees waited upon her Majesty, by her appointment, to lay before her "The Reasons for their Opinion touching the Great Cause."[2]

We have given this very succinct account, that it may appear how ripe for action the Parliament were at their very assembling; and that both Houses were of one mind, of like diligence, and like zeal. In the Commons there were "sundry speeches"; but, it would seem, no debate, no difference of opinion. The Catholic peers, doubtless, dissented from a purpose of blood against the orthodox heir presumptive to the throne; but, with this exception, the bent of the whole Parliament was for the swift execution of one on whose *account* — to say the least — the kingdom was in constant peril. The devoted and clear-headed Cecil, — now Lord Burleigh, — in whose mental conflicts self-possession never struck flag to passion, was "overthrown in heart, with no spark almost of good spirits left to nourish health in his body"; yet not so much for a danger which he was ready to grapple by the beard, as for the temporizing policy of the queen by which he was held in check. "There can be no greater soundness than is in the

[1] D'Ewes, 214. [2] Ibid., 215.

Commons' House," said he, "and no lack appeareth in the Upper House; but in the highest person such slowness in the offers of surety," — i. e. the execution of Mary and of Norfolk, — "and such stay in resolution, as it seemeth God is not pleased that the *surety* shall succeed."[1]

There can be no doubt that the Puritans were of importance in this House of Commons; for in the next session, in 1575–6, of this same Parliament, — which was continued for eleven years,[2] — their voice was distinctly heard. Nor can we suppose that they were behind the Precisians of the Church in zealous promotion of vital measures against Mary. But to attribute the act which passed against her in both Houses,[3] the reasonings by which it was sustained, and the queen's "forbearing to allow it," all solely, or even chiefly, to "*their* prevalence in the House," and *their* "intemperance," is both untrue, and in the face of known facts.[4] In the prosecution of these

[1] Digges, 203; Burleigh to Walsingham, 21 May 1572.

[2] D'Ewes, 226, 277, 310.

[3] Ibid., 204.

[4] I here refer to Hume, III. 87. He says, "The *Commons* made a direct application for the immediate trial and execution" of Mary. So they did; but the application was from *the Lords and* the Commons, — which, as he uses it, alters the case entirely. Burleigh's particular position he wholly overlooks. He adds, "Nothing could be a stronger proof that the Puritanical interest prevailed in the House, than the intemperate use of authorities derived from Scripture, especially the Old Testament"; and he insinuates that the queen would not accede to the application, because "she so little loved the sect." All this is unfortunate.

The use of the "authorities" would equally argue a prevalence of Puritanical interest among the Lords spiritual and temporal; for both Houses reasoned alike, and sanctioned the papers presented.

But again. The Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament — because unknown in the Hebrew language; because never received into the sacred canon by the Jewish Church, and therefore never sanctioned by our Saviour; and because

measures, the Precisian of the Church and the Puritan forgot their differences, and stood as one man against the milder proposition of the queen. In the Upper House, the bishop joined with the temporal lord, and both seconded the Puritan of the Commons, in "exciting the prince to cruelty and blood, contrary to her merciful inclinations";[1] and if there was not literal unanimity among the lords, there were hot

unknown in the Christian canon of Scriptures until more than four hundred years after Christ (Horne's Introduction, I. 627, 628)— were not allowed by the Puritans in the time of Elizabeth to be of any authority. They disliked that they should be even read in the churches; and made it one of their prominent objections to the established service, that the reading of them was required. A Puritan might quote Aristotle or Cicero to illustrate a principle in law or morals; but he would no sooner quote "The Wisdom of Solomon," or "Ecclesiasticus," than he would a heathen classic, *to prove a civil or a religious duty.* Yet both these apocryphal books are cited as "authorities" in the document to which Hume refers. However, therefore, the Puritanical interest may have prevailed in the Commons, and however the Puritans may have joined in the application, it is clear from the paper itself, that it must have been *framed* by Churchmen; and the sneer of the historian is wasted.

*Apropos:* a word to balance the ridicule so freely bestowed upon the Puritans for their deductions from Old Testament Scriptures. Two instances will suffice. "The punishment for high treason," argued Sir Edward Coke, "is *warranted* by divers examples in Scripture; for Joab was drawn, Bithan was hanged, Judas was embowelled"! (Blackstone, IV. 92, note *k.*) Another notable instance: Mr. Barwick, a clergyman of the Established Church, and not a Puritan, proved that God delights in *mediocrity* thus: "Man was put into the *midst* of Paradise. A rib was taken out of the *midst* of man. The Israelites went through the *midst* of the Red Sea and of Jordan. Samson put firebrands in the *midst*, between the foxes' tails. David's men had their garments cut off by the *midst.* Christ was hanged in the *midst*, between two thieves"! (Strype's Annals, Oxford edit., VI. 232; folio edit., III. Append. Bk. I. No. XXIV. p. 41.) Were the Puritans, who often doubtless misinterpreted and misapplied Scripture, sinners and silly above all others? Did they ever equal Coke and Barwick?

The truth is, the principles of hermeneutics, especially in their application to the Holy Scriptures, were very imperfectly understood, in those days, by the learned of all parties alike.

[1] D'Ewes, 211.

zeal and stern resolution no whit less than in the Commons. Besides, there was no honester or hotter zealot in the Great Cause than her Majesty's most influential minister. So intense was the anxiety of Lord Burleigh, — as stated above, — so watchful and untiring was he lest Parliament perchance should divide or flag in furthering Mary's death, that, crippled and tortured as he was by disease, he would be *carried* before the queen, that he might argue and persuade; and to the senate, that he might strengthen and inspire.[1]

It is not within the range of our theme to canvass the prison history of Mary, or to speculate upon her complicity in the plot which, before the Parliament was adjourned, cost Norfolk his head. But it is due to her memory to say, that if she did conspire to overthrow the power which thralled her, and if that overthrow was the only feasible means of her deliverance, she did but follow a law of nature which, in

[1] Digges, 203; Burleigh to Walsingham.

I think it well to transcribe the letter of Burleigh, previously quoted in part, so far as it illustrates the subject-matters in hand.

"Of our Parliament, there can be found no more soundness than is in the Commons House, and no lack appearing in the Upper House, but in the highest person such slowness in the offers of surety, and such stay in resolution, as it seemeth God is not pleased that the surety shall succeed. To lament that secretly I cannot forbear, and thereby with it and such like I am overthrown in heart, as I have no spark almost of good spirits left in me to nourish health in my body, being every third day thrown down to the ground, so as now I am forced to be carried into the Parliament-House, and to her Majesty's presence; and to lament it openly is to give more comfort to the adversaries. These are our miseries, and such as I see no end thereof; and amongst others, shame doth as much trouble me as the rest, that all persons should behold our follies as they may think, imputing these lacks and errors to some of us that are accounted inward counsellors, where indeed the fault is not; and yet they must be so suffered, and to be so imputed, for saving the honor of the highest."

its *true* meaning, always coincides with that of God. To what Nature *teaches*, an Apostle could appeal.[1] On the other hand, it is due to their memory whose history is in hand to state the grounds on which, in common with the other members of this Parliament, and with the masses out of Parliament, they justified their proceedings.

The case admitted of but two questions. For the real and serious hazards in which a wrong policy had involved the government by the imprisonment of the refugee queen, was there any remedy but the axe? There was none. The answer was self-evident; reached without process, and held without doubt. Was this remedy a righteous one? In other words, had the Queen of Scots *forfeited* life? did justice coincide with the exigencies of the state? The Puritan answered, "Yes." For this answer there were reasons. Be it that they were false; in his mind they were true. Be it that Mary was innocent of crime; in his very soul he believed her proven guilty, "found so by the judges of the realm."[2] Be it that he was a lame interpreter of Scripture, a jaundiced inspector of facts, a bad reasoner, a dupe to calumny and his own credulity, yet he acted upon the best information he could obtain, — upon his convictions. He was honest.

Because of her religion, because of her religious allies or sympathizers, because of her relation to the crown, and, we may add, because of the grievous wrongs done to her, Mary had long been a terror to all the Protestants of England. It was their firm conviction, that "she had sought and wrought, by

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 14. [2] D'Ewes, 215.

all means, to seduce God's people in the realm from true religion; that she was the only hope of all the adversaries of God throughout all Europe, and the instrument whereby they trusted to overthrow the Gospel of Christ in all countries," — both of which, it was believed, she and they sought to do by subverting the governments; that "she had sought both the disinheriting and the destruction of Elizabeth"; that "she had heaped up together all the sins of adultery, murder, conspiracy, treason, and blasphemy against God."[1] Upon these premises, over which in their minds there hung no cloud of doubt, they reasoned from Scripture cited, that "her Majesty must needs offend in conscience before God, if she did not punish so grievous an offender," — "queen or subject, stranger or citizen, kin or not kin," — "according to the measure of her offence in the highest degree"; an offender, too, "whom God's special and remarkable Providence had put into the Queen's Majesty's hands *to be* punished"; that "if such an one should escape with small punishment, there was reason to fear" — as most certainly there was — "that God would reserve her as an instrument to put the queen from her royal seat, and to plague the naughty subjects"; that "to spare one person, being an enemy, a stranger, a professed member of Antichrist, and convicted of so many heinous crimes, with the evident peril of so many thousands of bodies and souls of good and faithful subjects, might justly be termed cruel compassion"; and that her Majesty "would be in danger of the blood of God's people, if she should not *cut off*" so great and dan-

[1] D'Ewes, 208, 209.

gerous a sinner. "*Therefore*," — said the petitioners of both Houses of Parliament in their "Reasons" given, — "as the Queen's Majesty indeed is merciful, so we most humbly desire her that she will open her mercy towards God's people and her good subjects in despatching those enemies" — the Duke of Norfolk is here included — "that seek the confusion of God's cause amongst us and *of this noble realm*."[1]

In their "Petition," they argued against her Majesty's scheme "to proceed only in disabling the Scottish queen for any claim or title to the crown," that "such *special* disabling would be in effect a special *confirmation* of a right she should have had"; meaning, "a special admission that a title had previously existed," — and most shrewdly was this said. In proposing this procedure, Elizabeth had by implication — but as yet only to her Parliament — admitted inadvertently that Mary was in verity the next heir to the crown. They argued further, that "a firebrand once kindled and having matter to work upon would hardly be quenched without great hazard"; that "hope of gain through Mary would make her partisans bold, more than any penalties ever so terrible would deter them"; that "she wanted neither wit nor wisdom to escape," nor courage to do it even at the hazard of her life, all of which she had proved when "she adventured herself at Loch Leven";[2] that "there were traitors ready

[1] D'Ewes, 208–210, *passim*.

[2] I could not consent to insert in the text words which contain a scurrilous innuendo. Yet I place them here, because perhaps nothing in the records of the time shows more clearly to what utter self-abandonment to vice it was believed, *by all classes* of English Protestants, this unfortunate princess had arrived. "She was told at Loch Leven, there was no way but

to do for her liberty, who would adventure deep for a kingdom, because — the service done — the reward would be great"; "and when that day shall come, woe be to all true Christians universally; for upon her do depend the chiefest enemies of religion and of this kingdom!" "Whereby it appeareth" — is the close of the argument — "that the disabling her would be rather for her benefit than her hurt; whereas dealing with her in the first degree according to her deserts" — although "she hath fallen into your hands from the violence of others, and so as a bird followed by a hawk seeketh succor at your Majesty's feet" — "is lawful, safe, necessary, and honorable for your Majesty and all Christendom besides."[1]

In reply to these persuasives, her Majesty declared to both Houses, that she did thankfully accept their good-will and zeal; that what they recommended was certainly the best and surest for safety; but that, for private reasons, she should for the present suspend, though not reject, the course of proceeding advised by their memorial. She further desired a second bill, to embrace the other course of proceeding, yet so as it should neither admit nor deny any right of succession to the crown to be or to have been in the Scottish queen.[2] To secure this,

death with her, if she did not take her imprisonment quietly, and live without seeking liberty. Notwithstanding, she adventured herself with a young fellow very dishonorably to get away in a boat."

[1] D'Ewes, 216, 217.

[2] I have here taken, perhaps, a large liberty with the text of the Journal; but only to express my understanding of its true meaning. That the reader may judge for himself, I give the words from D'Ewes. "Her Majesty, minding in that bill by any implication or drawing of words not to have the Scottish queen either enabled or disabled to or from any manner of title to

she would have the bill first drawn by her Council; and in conclusion, she forbade either House to enter, in the mean time, upon any speeches or arguments upon the matter.

A bill, however, afterwards passed both Houses "against *Mary, the daughter and heir* of James V., late King of Scots, *commonly called* the Queen of Scots";[1] but it did not receive the royal sanction. Four days after it was sent to the Lords from the Commons, the Parliament was "adjourned" by the queen's command.[2] Thus began,[3] and thus for the present ended, the Great Cause of the Queen of Scots.

Experts, perhaps novices, in casuistry and Scriptural exegesis may find flaws in the reasonings of the committees in this cause. But it should be remembered, that these are not chargeable to either one of the dominant religious sects, but to the entire Protestant mind of England, — misled, doubtless, by libels and forgeries, and certainly hard pressed to decisive measures for national defence.

the crown of this realm, or any other title to the same whatsoever touched at all, willeth that the bill be first drawn by her learned Council," &c.

[1] D'Ewes, 204, 221, 224.

[2] Ibid., 204.

[3] Hallam seems to say on p. 88, and distinctly says on p. 149, that a bill attainting the Queen of Scots was introduced into the Parliament of 1571. So also say Camden, p. 168, and Rapin, II. 100. This is a mistake, the source of which is stated by D'Ewes, 207, 212, 215; where it appears, as well as from the Journal of 1571 itself, that "there was not so much as any mention made of the Queen of Scots in that Parliament."

Unless "*to make un*able," be different from "to *dis*able," the bill "against Mary, commonly called the Queen of Scots," was drawn contrary to the queen's intent; and not by the Council, but by Parliament in direct disobedience of her command. Burleigh describes it as "a law to *make* her *un*able and unworthy of succession to the crown." (Lingard, VIII. 102, note; quoted from Digges, 219.) There is no clew to its purport in D'Ewes, other than its title.

In the very face of the royal recommendation at the opening of Parliament, that they should enlist the civil sword with the sword ecclesiastic in the service of "the ornaments of religion," the Commons proposed laws to lighten the ceremonial burdens. They brought in two bills "for Rites and Ceremonies,"[1] one of which — to redress the hardships of the Puritans — was read the third time and referred, on the 20th of May. On the 22d, her Majesty ordered that henceforth no bills concerning religion should be presented or received there, unless first considered and liked by the clergy; and demanded that the bills be sent to her.[2] The House sent them, with a humble request, that, if her Majesty liked them not, she would not think ill of the House, or of the persons who presented them. The next day, Mr. Treasurer reported, that "her Majesty *did* mislike the first bill, and him who brought the same into the House; that she would have no preacher or minister impeached or indicted, as the preamble of the bill did purport; and that she herself, as *Defender* of the Faith, would aid and maintain all good Protestants to the discouraging of all Papists."[3]

We should be slow to concede that "the submissiveness of this Parliament," in this instance, "was owing to the queen's vigorous dealings with the last";[4] for it was *after* her dealing with Bell, and *during* her dealing with Strickland, that the most bold and interesting debates broke forth in that House of Commons, and their most spirited resentment of her breach of privilege. True, the Commons of 1572

[1] Strype's Parker, 394.
[2] D'Ewes, 213.
[3] Ibid., 214.
[4] Hallam, 150.

were not the same; but we have just seen that they *could* reject a royal dictation, notwithstanding the memory of vigorous dealings in 1571. Besides, the very man, Peter Wentworth, who revived the courage of the last House by his indignant retort upon Sir Humphrey Gilbert, was present here in this; and, although he held his peace, *he* was not cowed, but aroused and incensed, by the arbitrary interference of the queen. This he proved most memorably in the next session of this same Parliament. It is more reasonable to suppose that the Commons, instead of being overawed by her Majesty's frown, yielded their indignation to the paramount, absorbing interest of "The Great Cause." The Puritan knew when to speak, and when to be silent.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## THE ADMONITION TO PARLIAMENT.

The First Presbytery. — A Puritan Reply to a Bishop's Defence of the Church. — Field and Wilcox imprisoned. — Their Conference with the Archbishop's Chaplain. — Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition. — Cartwright publishes a Second Admonition, and a Reply to Whitgift's Answer. — Their Controversy. — The Queen's Proclamation against the Admonition, and Cartwright's Reply. — The Alarm of the Precisian Prelates. — Subscription enforced throughout the Kingdom. — The Massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day in Paris. — Rejoicings at Rome. — Effect of the Massacre in England. — The Condition of Religion.

### 1572.

Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcox did not falter in their plan. They matured their memorial after the general outline which has been described, submitted it to the revision of several of their dissenting brethren, and presented it themselves to Parliament early in the session. It was entitled "An Admonition to Parliament for Reformation of Church Discipline"; was printed when presented, and soon passed through four editions, notwithstanding strenuous efforts by authority to suppress it.[1]

The special umbrage given to the queen by what was designated as "the first bill," affords ground to suppose that it had been framed to further "the Ad-

[1] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 102. Heyl. Presb., Bk. VII. sec. 2. Camden, 191. Strype's Parker, 347; Whitgift, 27. Neal I. 121. Brook, I. 319; II. 143, 185.

monition," and that the latter was in some way connected with the former. But however this may have been, both bills and the Admonition were "dashed," when her Majesty prohibited religious discussion; and thus all hope of relief from Parliament was at an end. The queen, through her morbid jealousy for her prerogative of the supremacy, had taken another false step; for her stopping of religious proceedings upon this occasion only drove the Puritans from the rule of London to the rule of Geneva. Finding that books, and petitions, and appeals to Parliament, availed them nothing,[1] many of their clergy, with several laymen of consideration, some time in the month of June formed themselves into a presbytery at Wandsworth, that place being retired and convenient of access by land and by water from London.[2] "This was the first-born of all presbyteries in England"; the nucleus to which a large portion of the London clergy soon attached themselves; the parent stock whence seed dropped and also took root in neighboring counties.

The Precisians were disturbed by the Admonition. One of them, Dr. Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, preaching at Paul's Cross on the 27th of June, thought it necessary to counteract its influence by a sermon in

[1] Collier, VI. 529.

[2] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 103. Collier, VI. 529, 530. Neal seems to say, that this presbytery was formed on the 20th of November, and mentions among its chief members at its formation Field and Wilcox. They doubtless were. But these men were in prison from the 7th of July till near the close of 1573. It is necessary, therefore, to fix the time when the presbytery was organized within the term from May 22d, when the application to Parliament failed, and the 7th of July, when these men were arrested. (See Brook, I. 322.) Eleven elders were chosen; and their offices and general rules were agreed upon, and inscribed in a register, entitled "The Orders of Wandsworth." (Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 103. Neal, I. 126.)

defence of the Church, its Liturgy and its rites. In answer to this, the Bishop received a private anonymous letter, to the several points of which he commenced noting his answers in the margin, abandoning the attempt, however, after two notes upon comparatively trifling matters. This letter deserves some notice, as exhibiting some strong points upon which this new school of the Puritans relied, and as showing the undeniable unfitness of many of the clergy approved, and the undeniable oppressions of the ecclesiastical authorities. In this letter it was charged, that well qualified preachers were thrust from office by "urging upon them gay gear and Popish abominations"; that they were imprisoned, suspended, deprived, banished, excommunicated, while it was notorious that there was a lack of preachers in the kingdom, as the Lord Keeper himself had declared to the Parliament. It was further charged, that, in lieu of the godly and capable who might be had, idle men, stupid, ignorant, irreverent, mere readers, lewd men, and Papists, who would bring never a stone to build the Lord's temple, were thrust upon the congregations for ministers; and that many of these were "galloping Sir Johns, licensed to preach in two or three cures."

In answer to the Bishop's appeal to Ignatius and other Fathers of the Church, and to ancient usages, it was tartly replied, "For us to stand so much upon men's judgment, seeing that *every man is a liar*, and to ascribe so much unto the time wherein they lived, seeing that the Apostle tells us that the *mystery of iniquity began to work* in his days, is a vanity and deluding the simple"; that the joining of civil

offices to ecclesiastical functions, as in the case of the bishops of the English Church, was contrary to usage in the Jewish commonwealth, where Moses was God's magistrate, Aaron his priest, and Joshua his captain; that it was a feeble argument for the order of archbishops to say, as the Bishop did in his sermon, "that there were archbishops in the first Nicene Council, which was three hundred years after Christ, and that *therefore* the office was agreeable to God's Word"; and moreover, it was added by the writer, "the word *arch* is not attributed in the New Testament to any officer or minister of God's Church Militant. St. Peter calls Christ Arch-shepherd, which shows that whoso takes the same title to himself taketh a name and title by right only Christ's."

We see here, to some extent, on what grounds the disciples of Cartwright objected, not merely to the titles, but to the mixed functions, of the English hierarchy.

After upbraiding the ecclesiastical magistrates for keeping godly ministers in prison, for separating them utterly from friends, wives, and children, for driving their families to beggary, because they refused Popish apparel and spake or wrote against the missals and pontificals of the Church, the writer adds, as if he already foresaw the retribution in kind which in less than a century was to be visited upon the Establishment, "Assure yourself, as you persecute them, so shall you be persecuted; as you bring them and theirs to beggary, so you and yours shall be beggared, unless you repent."

A meagre sketch of a very long and able letter,—a letter remarkable for its pertinence and pungency,

and no less so for its almost entire freedom from the offensive language which then degraded much of religious controversy. That the Bishop should have suspended his marginal annotations so soon, is significant.[1]

On the 7th of July, Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcox were arrested for having presented to Parliament "The Admonition";[2] and, after three months passed in prison, they were indicted under the Statute 1 Eliz. Cap. II.,[3] and sentenced on the 2d of October to a year's imprisonment in the common jail of Newgate.[4] About the first of September, probably, they wrote a letter of remonstrance to Archbishop Parker, which was delivered to him by their wives,[5] and which so far moved that Primate, that he sent his chaplain to confer with them in Newgate, and to inquire "in what particular instance they could accuse him of injustice and cruelty." The conversation was conducted in a Christian spirit by both parties; being opened, with the cheerful assent of the chaplain, by prayer from Mr. Field for Divine assistance in their interview.[6] The prisoners argued,

[1] Strype's Annals, III. 287 – 303.

[2] Ibid., 275.

[3] Brook, I. 320.

[4] Their sentence shows that they were convicted under Sec. II. of the Act of Uniformity, for "declaring anything in derogation or depraving of the Book of Common Prayer," — the first offence.

Heylin (Presb., Bk. VII. Sec. 3) and Brook (II. 191) call them beneficed curates. But their sentence shows that they were only "Lecturers," or preachers. Had they been beneficed, their sentence would have been the forfeiture of their livings for one year, and *six months'* imprisonment. According to Hallam's representation of the statute (p. 74), they would have been sentenced to "forfeit goods and chattels"; for the section which prescribes penalties upon *ministers* for deviating from the Liturgy prescribes the same penalties for their declaring anything derogatory of the Book of Common Prayer.

[5] Brook, II. 186.

[6] Ibid., 187.

that where Paul says that God gave to his Church some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, he speaks of extraordinary offices peculiar to that age; that where he adds, "some pastors and teachers," he speaks of ordinary offices to continue to the end of time, — offices which differ not in authority and dignity, though they may in gifts and graces. They urged also that each minister should have his own charge, and not ordinarily preach out of it; because every pastor had work enough to take proper care of his own flock; because a wandering ministry will be an ignorant one; and because it is contrary to reason and to Scripture.[1] They also pressed this point: that if the Apostles did well in communicating the temporal part of their office to others, — deacons, — so that they might give themselves wholly to prayer and preaching, what shall we judge of those who unite *civil* functions to their ecclesiastical offices?[2] The conversation having continued in this strain for some time, Mr. Pearson, the chaplain, remarked, "You seem to have written your book in choler against some persons, rather than to promote a reformation of the Church."

"I suppose you are displeased with the sharpness of the language," said Wilcox. "We are willing to bear the blame of that."

"I think it did not proceed from a spirit of love, and charity, and meekness."

"That toucheth me," said Field, "and therefore I answer, that we have used gentle words too long; we perceive that they have done no good. The

[1] Brook, II. 187, 188. [2] Ibid., 188.

wound is become desperate; it therefore needeth a strong corrosive. It is no time to flatter men in their sins. Yet, God knoweth, we meant to speak against no man's *person*, but their *places*, and *existing corruptions*."

"Will you then take away all ecclesiastical policy?" inquired Mr. Pearson. "It pleaseth the prince, in *policy*, to make the ministers lord bishops and archbishops. I *confess this cannot be warranted* by *God's Word;* but as the Christian magistrate, in policy, esteemeth it good, and not *against* God's Word, I doubt whether they may not do it."

"We praise God," replied Mr. Wilcox with earnestness, "for having made you confess this truth. But we must consider whether the policy concerning ecclesiastical matters, as contained in God's Word, be not all-sufficient and alone to be followed. The ministers of Christ may take unto themselves no other titles than those allowed and appointed in God's Word, though the Christian prince make ever so liberal an offer of them."

"When in honor they are offered," returned the chaplain, "would you have them wilfully and unthankfully refuse them?"

"They should say," answered Mr. Field,—"'We cannot labor *in this our sacred* function so faithfully as the Lord requireth, therefore we most humbly desire your Majesty to lay the charge of *civil* matters elsewhere; and let us exercise ourselves in the office of the ministry only.' The names of Lord Bishop and Archbishop belong to Jesus Christ alone, as Lord and King in Zion."

"If," replied Mr. Pearson, "if for *religion* the prince

appoint fasts, we ought not to obey; but if in *policy*, when victuals are dear, we are bound in conscience to obey."[1]

"As you plead so much for policy," said Mr. Field, "we suffer for opposing the Popish hierarchy, the policy of which is directly contrary to that which was used in the primitive Church."

"Must we then in every point follow the Apostles and the primitive Church?"

"Yes; unless a better order be found. In matters of government and discipline, the Word of God is our only warrant; but rites and ceremonies not mentioned in Scripture are to be used or refused, as shall best appear to the edification of the Church."

Here the conversation closed.[2]

The horrors of prison in the days of Elizabeth will probably be unknown to us "until the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness." We find no detailed description of life and suffering and death within the Gate-House, the Fleet, the Clink, the Marshalsea, Newgate, or Bridewell; but we glean here and there some things whose aggregate is fearful. We know that these prisons were filled with the most revolting forms of vice, degradation, misery, want, disease, and death; that most of their inmates were the worst of felons, men and women[3] who had abandoned themselves, without stint or shame, to the grossest depravity. We know that they were herded, by day at least, in a common apartment; surrounded by filth; breath-

[1] See *infra*, Vol. II. Chap. III.
[2] Brook, II. 189, 190.
[3] Stow's Survey, 131 (London edit. 1842).

ing a putrid air; some shackled; some penniless; half starved; quarrelsome; foul-mouthed; bestial; in summer, half suffocated; in winter, half frozen; and always without discipline; — pale men and florid; emaciated men and bloated; fierce-looking men and dejected; with staring eyes and bloodshot; with dull eyes and sunken; with hands and faces covered with sores; and all seething in a stench so gross as might almost be felt. Sometimes the jail-fever would come in. Then the sick would rave about their sins, and about death, and about after death; and curse each other; and blaspheme; and, blaspheming, die. And the well would look on, and sing songs, and jeer, and mock. We shall hereafter exhibit facts to confirm these general statements.

It is terrible for any one whom God has made to enjoy the blue heavens, the fields, fresh air, and familiar faces, to be locked up even with strangers of congenial habits, and with the common conveniences of life, week after week, month after month. But to take from his sacramental board twenty-four men and seven women who have imbibed Christ's spirit, — to take two ripe scholars of Oxford, preachers of the Gospel, their daily converse with things heavenly, from their vocation, their wives and children, — and thrust them into such a kennel, — the terribleness of *this* can be known only to God and the sufferer. Whether it was *precisely* the prison lot of the offenders of the Plumbers' Hall, and of Field and Wilcox, we cannot affirm, but we believe it was; for ministers of the Gospel, and women, and young maidens too, *were* thrust "into dangerous and loathsome jails, among the most facinorous and vile per-

sons," for not praying by the book. Nor was this half their woes. It is not to be supposed, merely because they have left no telltale plaint on record, that it was otherwise with these two petitioners to Parliament. Whatever may have been the details of their sufferings, they were utterly impoverished in their prison, with not money enough to buy their bread; they were "in a most loathsome" place; made sick, emaciated, "by the unwholesome savor and the cold weather."[1] Twice they petitioned their friend, the Earl of Leicester, for relief; once their wives and children did the same. They also pleaded with Lord Burleigh, who was well affected to their cause, to procure their liberty. They addressed him in a "well-penned letter in Latin,"[2] which is still extant.[3] In this they pleaded *justice;* affirming the simple truth, that they had only "urged in their book the reformation of horrid abuses and corruptions acknowledged by all the foreign Reformed churches, and by men of eminent learning, to be very foul."[4] They stated also, that "they had not attempted to correct or change anything of themselves, but only by Parliament, and with the queen's approbation, in a quiet and legal way."[5]

But the queen's prerogative had been touched; the Archbishop was already jealous that some principle cankerous to despotism was lurking under this zeal for religious reform; and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were determined that their power should

[1] Neal, I. 122, 123. Brook, I. 319, 320.
[2] Strype's Annals, III. 275.
[3] Ibid., IV. Append. XIX.
[4] Strong language; but sustained by the "Zurich Letters."
[5] Strype's Annals, III. 276. Brook, I. 319, 320; II. 190, 191.

be felt. Besides, the culprits were brought into greater odium by Doctor John Whitgift, Master of Trinity College and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, who had an old grudge against Cartwright and his principles. He published "An Answer to the Admonition," revised and corrected before it went to press by Archbishop Parker, and by Cooper, the Bishop of Lincoln;[1] who, of course, were responsible for its statements and reasonings. Whitgift argued that Field and Wilcox were disturbers of good order, and enemies to the state;[2] that "because they would have bishops *unlorded*, therefore they would overthrow the *civil* magistracy; that they who were seeking an equality of rank among the clergy, would soon be for levelling the rank of the nobility; and that, because they found fault with the regimen of the Church, therefore they designed the ruin of the state."[3] So in the time of Henry VIII. cried out the Romish priests against those who "wrote books against the pride and luxury of the bishops"; that "they were men jealous of all authority; that, if they once got rid of that of the bishops, they would not rest long till they had also got rid of that of his Majesty; that these attacks upon ecclesiastics and the Roman Catholic doctrines were only a prelude to seditious attempts against their sovereign."[4]

All these things bore hard upon the two prisoners, and countervailed their petitions and the good-will of courtiers. We have no account of their liberation;

[1] Strype's Parker, 363.
[2] Brook, I. 321.
[3] Neal, I. 122.
[4] Bagster's Memorials of Coverdale, p. 25.

but they were kept in the common jail of Newgate twelve months, at least, from the time of their sentence;[1] making fifteen months in all, which was stretching the penalty of a very stern statute one fourth part.

Mr. Cartwright had returned to England just about the time when the Admonition was published. Upon the imprisonment of its authors, he was induced to publish a second Admonition, which was "more importunate and to the same effect";[2] and "it comes out," says one writer, "with such a flash of lightning, and such claps of thunder, as if heaven and earth were presently to have met together."[3] This book was entitled, "A Second Admonition, with an Humble Petition to both Houses of Parliament *for Relief against Subscription*"; urging that, as now required, this subscription "had no foundation in law, but was an act of sovereignty in the crown."[4] He also published "A Reply to Whitgift's Answer"; a pamphlet not only exceedingly applauded by the populace,[5] but acknowledged by great numbers in the University of Cambridge, by foreign divines, and even by his own adversaries, to be a masterly performance.[6] This led to a controversy.[7] Cartwright maintained that the

[1] Brook, I. 320; F. and W. to Leicester. There must be an error of a year in the *date* of this letter as given in Brook.

[2] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 102.

[3] Heyl. Presb., Bk. VII. sec. 2.

[4] Neal, I. 121.

[5] Strype's Parker, 420.

[6] Strype's Whitgift, 53. Neal, I. 123. Brook, II. 143.

[7] In answer to Cartwright's "Reply," Whitgift published a "Defence," in February, 1573–4. (Strype's Parker, 420.) In 1575, Cartwright published the first part of a "Second Reply," in answer to Whitgift's "Defence"; and in 1577, the second part. (Neal, I. 125. Brook, II. 143.) Fuller (Bk. IX. p. 103) says that Cartwright kept silence after the publication of Whitgift's "Defence"; but adds parenthetically, "for aught I can find." He is mistaken in attributing

*Bible* was the only standard of doctrine, of discipline, and of government," for the Church. Whitgift averred that it was *not* a standard of Church discipline and government; that these are changeable, and may be accommodated to the civil government under which we live; that the apostolical government was for the Church in its infancy and under persecution. And therefore, instead of reducing the external policy of the Church to the simplicity of the

*both* "Admonitions" to Cartwright. So are Strype and others. See Pierce, 83, and Brook, II. 143.

Field and Wilcox also replied to Whitgift's calumnious charges in his "Answer," by publishing a confession of their faith, December 4th, 1572. Some points in this paper ought to be kept in view hereafter, in discriminating between the Presbyterians and the Independents. I therefore transcribe some of them as given by Neal, I. 122, note.

(1.) "The Church of a God is a congregation called and gathered out of the world by the preaching of the Gospel, united in the true faith, and resolving to form their lives, government, order, and ceremonies according to the Word of God."

(2.) "The office of a pastor is, to preach the Word and administer the sacraments; and therefore bare readers are no more fit for pastors than women or children that can read well."

(3.) "There ought to be joined to the pastors of the church, elders and deacons, for the bridling of vices, and providing for the poor."

(4.) "The pastor should be chosen by the congregation, and confirmed in his vocation by the elders with public prayer and imposition of hands."

(5.) "No pastor ought to usurp dominion over another; nor any church, over another church."

(6.) "Ceremonies should be few; have no show of evil; but manifestly tend to decency and good order. We reject, therefore, all Popish ceremonies and apparel."

(7.) "Churches may differ in order and ceremonies, and yet keep the unity of the faith. Therefore we condemn not other churches that have ceremonies different from ours."

(8.) "There ought to be places appointed for public worship, where *may* be a prescript form of prayer, and service in the known tongue, because all have not the gift of prayer; but we would not have it patched out of the Pope's portuises. But be the form of prayer never so good, ministers may not think themselves discharged when they have said it over; for they are not sent to say service, but to preach deliverance through Christ. Neither ought the minister to be bound to use a prescript form at all times."

(9.) "As preaching is the chief

Scripture model, he embraced in *his* standard the opinions and customs of the *Fathers in the first four centuries* after Christ. It was in reference to this appeal beyond the Bible to the Fathers, that a Romish priest afterwards said to Sir Francis Knollys, — and justly, — that he would require no better books to prove his doctrine of Popery than Whitgift's against Cartwright."[1]

On this fundamental point — the standard of ap-

part of a minister's office, all other things must give place to it."

(10.) "*It is unlawful* to withdraw from the Church where the Word is truly preached, the sacrament sincerely administered, and true ecclesiastical discipline exercised. We are not for an unspotted Church on earth; and therefore, though the Church of England has many faults, we would not willingly withdraw from it. Yet God's children, when threatened with persecution, and when the church doors are shut against them, may withdraw into private assemblies, separating from idolatry and Popery, though the laws of princes are against it; and whoever refuseth to be subject to these congregations, separating themselves, resisteth the ordinances of God."

(11.) "Religion is tied to no time, nor is one day more holy than another. But because time must be had to hear the Word of God, and to administer the Holy Sacraments, therefore we keep the Lord's day as we are commanded, but without all Jewish superstition. Those feast-days of Christ, as of his birth, circumcision, passover, resurrection, ascension, &c., may by Christian liberty be kept, because they are only devoted to Christ, to whom all days and times belong. But days dedicated to saints, with fasts on their eves, we utterly dislike, though we approve of the reverend memory of saints, as examples to be propounded to the people in sermons; and of public and private fasts, as the circumstances of nations or private persons require."

The earliest intimation which I find of the right of the congregation to elect its own minister, is in an anonymous paper written in 1560, containing hints for some reformation of the ministry. It suggests that none should be admitted to the ministry but such as are able to minister according to God's Word, and as shall, at the same time, be admitted to a certain place and congregation; that every congregation should give their consent and election, *with the patron*, unto him that is to be presented; and that, upon *such* election and admission into the ministry, and institution unto the benefice, may well follow induction. (Strype's Annals, I. 312, 313.)

[1] Strype's Whitgift, 265.

peal — was thus opened a controversy which terminated not with John Whitgift and Thomas Cartwright, but which to this day has kept asunder the rigid Churchman, however evangelical in spiritual matters, and the rigid Dissenter, too timid and distrustful to anchor *his* hope and *his* faith save in the deep counsels of God, — too distrustful to guide *his* course in religious matters by any other than a Divine chart. On the common platform of the written Word, they would embrace.

With such a work in hand, it was not safe for Mr. Cartwright to live in open day. But while the officials of the ecclesiastical commission were on the watch, he had ever a form in which to hide. "Many of the Aldermen of London openly countenanced him"; and he had admirers and stanch friends there, who gave him welcome and concealment.[1] So formidable to the government were his doctrines, that the next year, on the 11th of June, the queen issued a proclamation denouncing "certain books under the title of an Admonition to Parliament, and one other also in defence of said Admonition; the which books did tend to no other end but to make divisions and dissensions in the opinions of men, and to breed talks and disputes against the common order. Therefore her Highness straitly charged all men, of what quality or condition they were, who had in custody any of the said books, to bring in the same to the bishop of the diocese, or to one of her Highness's Privy Council, within twenty days after they shall have notice of this proclamation; and not to suffer any of them, without license or allowance

[1] Strype's Parker, 428; Whitgift, 53.

of the said bishop, upon pain of imprisonment and her Highness's further displeasure."[1] But when the twenty days had expired, not a single copy of the Admonition by Field and Wilcox had been brought to the Bishop of London, and but thirty-four copies of the Admonition by Cartwright, although without doubt there were thousands dispersed in the city and other parts of the diocese. The copies of Cartwright's book were brought in by Stroud, the publisher, who came trembling with them to Bishop Sandys, while his wife stayed at home to burn the rest that were unsold.[2] Stroud had been an excellent preacher, but had been deprived and forbidden to preach by Parker. Sandys took his books, but upbraided him for *laying down* the ministry! Woodcock, the bookseller who sold the first Admonition, paid for his sin in Newgate.[3]

"Having gained fame by the first wound which those fervent reprehenders" — the Puritans — "received at his hands," Whitgift was rewarded for his chivalry ecclesiastic, first, by being made Dean of Lincoln;[4] then, Bishop of Worcester;[5] and finally, by being elevated to the See of Canterbury. On the other hand, an order was issued against Cartwright, December 11, 1573,[6] "to all the queen's Majesty's officers, to seize his body and to bring him before her Majesty's Commissioners for his unlawful

[1] Strype's Parker, 421, 422.

[2] Camden, 192. Strype's Parker, 422; Whitgift, 53. Neal, I. 124. Strype says: "After the twenty days mentioned in the proclamation, there was *not one book* brought in to the Bishop of London." Neal says, on manuscript authority, that Stroud brought thirty-four. I have attempted to reconcile the two.

[3] Strype's Annals, IV. 189; Aylmer, 57.

[4] Strype's Parker, 332.

[5] Sir George Paule, sec. 39. Neal, I. 123.

[6] Strype's Annals, III. 418.

dealings and demeanors in matters touching religion and the estate of this realm"; and he was obliged again to flee the realm, "little better than a wandering beggar."[1] But the two champions were to meet again.

Whitgift had been put to replying to the Admonition by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. After having tried in vain to stop the book itself, by ordering the Mayor and Aldermen of London to seize the press, — which probably they sheltered, — they had directed the Master of Trinity College to "set on work his very able and learned pen, to hinder the spreading of its seditious principles."[2] A book which declared that "the place, the office, the very name of Archbishop ought to be abolished";[3] which struck at his courts and their corruptions; which struck at his revenues; which declared that the inordinate incomes of the prelacy were employed only in retaining idle servants and in luxurious living; and that such men, whose proper functions were spiritual, ought to be reduced to a condition more private and more suitable to the ministers of Christ;[4] — such a book, "in great vogue," too, naturally aroused the jealousy and sensitiveness of the prelates. It was bad enough, the Archbishop thought, when such men as the authors cavilled only at the habits; but when they struck at the Liturgy, "*wherein consisted the chief part of the reformation* in this Church," denounced the ecclesiastical policy "whereby it was governed, as Antichristian, and labored that another discipline

[1] Neal, I. 125, 129. Brook, II. 146.

[2] Strype's Parker, 347.

[3] Ibid., 313.

[4] Ibid., 422, 424, 425, 437; Sandys to Burleigh.

and order should be set up," and withal "were cunningly encouraged by some persons that pretended otherwise, hoping by quarrels against the calling of bishops to get a share of their revenues," — "all this the Archbishop and his brethren reckoned to tend indeed to the ruin of religion! Nay, more; to the ruin of learning; to the spoiling of the Church's patrimony; to the confusion of the country; to a popular state"![1] When Cartwright and his "busy men" first brewed these matters at Cambridge, his Grace had then "feared they nourished *some* monster";[2] but now he was confident, since Whitgift had opened his eyes, what the monster was; "that they shot not only at the bishops, but at the Queen's Council, at the nobility."[3] In July, 1573, his mind was clear on the subject; for he wrote to Burleigh, that "how secure soever the nobility were of these Puritans, and countenanced them against the bishops, they themselves might rue it at last"; and that "all these men tended towards was to the overthrow of all honorable quality and the setting up of a popularity," by which "he meant a parity or equality in the State, as well as in the Church."[4]

"Let the chief authors of this *sedition*, who are now esteemed as gods, be removed far from the city," wrote Sandys, now Bishop of London, to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. "If these idols who are hon-

[1] Strype's Parker, 355, 422, 433.

[2] Ibid., 313.

[3] Ibid., 355.

[4] Ibid., [447]. The brackets here denote the *duplicate* numerical pages, which occur in the copy before me, from the *true* page 448 onward twelve pages, all designated in the copy thus: [ ]. This distinction will be observed as occasion requires. Compare *supra*, p. 341, note 2.

ored for saints, and greatly enriched by gifts," — because they were in penury for their opinions, — "were removed from hence, their honor would fall into the dust. They would be taken for blocks, as they are. Let a commission be sent to the Mayor and Aldermen to search out these matters. For my part, I will do what I can; not out of regard to mine own office, whereof I be very weary, but in respect of that Church of Christ which is most dear to me. But for this work I am too weak; yea, were all of my calling joined together, we were too weak. Our estimation is little, our authority less. We are become contemptible in the eyes of the basest sort of people. Therefore do I earnestly beseech your Lordship and the other lords, to put to your helping hands."[1]

So thoroughly were these prelates frightened by the foreshadowing of Presbyterianism. It is noticeable that it was not a "tendency to the ruin of" the *Christian* "religion" which the Primate saw in "the discipline labored for"; and that *that* "Church of Christ most dear to Sandys, for which he would do what he could," was not the *very*, the *spiritual* Church; for they acknowledged Presbytery in Scotland, and Presbytery in Geneva, and Presbytery in France and in Germany, and even Presbytery of foreigners in their own streets, to be of the true Church of Christ. It was the *English* Church for which they trembled, — the Establishment, — the authority, the lordship, the revenues, the prelacy; and yet not these only, but — as Whitgift had proclaimed and Parker echoed — the very order of civil government.

[1] Strype's Parker, 428.

Nor was this a mere hue and cry raised for sinister purposes, to excite odium and stimulate severity. But "our Archbishop and two other bishops especially, who stirred more than the rest against the Puritans,"[1] were honest in sounding this alarm. Scared by the attack upon their own order, their political sagacity was quickened; and, in disobedience to governors in things indifferent,[2] they scented an insidious principle, — of which the innovators themselves had not yet dreamed, — at war, not indeed with monarchy, but with monarchy as it was. Therefore they said, "that her Highness's *sword should be compelled to cut off* this stubborn multitude."[3]

Such being their defensive position, and such their political apprehensions, we can easily account for a long train of judicial severities without supposing either the prelacy or the crown to have been moved purely by a love of tyranny or a spirit of malice. Two fabrics were interlaced. The zealot partisans of the structure saw not how the one could be taken down without ruin to the other. It had not entered their conception, that monarchy might be limited, and be monarchy still; nor into that of *any*, that religion could live with only God for its defence, — that the Church might be independent of the State, and be still the Church. The prayer of the very Admonition was, that its model might *be established by law.* Herein all parties were agreed. Herein all were wrong. They were gladiators, thrusting in the dark.

Guided by effete maxims and rheumy vision, the

[1] Strype's Parker, 389. [2] Ibid., 312. [3] Ibid., 313.

Commissioners pushed their vocation with vigor. They pressed the ecclesiastical garments;[1] and, upon the forced construction of the late statute, they demanded subscription to *all* "the Articles of Religion" all over the kingdom, by which many were deprived of their benefices and ecclesiastical preferments, — not less than one hundred in 1571–2.[2] Nor was this all; for during the same time "great numbers of *both sexes* all over the realm, who were *suspected* of religion not agreeable to the state, were committed to close prison";[3] while, sometimes at least, a Papist transgressor, if discovered, had the free range of prison, and could receive his friends, or was restrained only to a bishop's palace, a courtly bedchamber, and a sumptuous board.[4] So little did the inquisitors look within the cup and platter, so easily were they satisfied with ceremonial innocence where *Puritanism* was not suspected, that Popish priests who "could swallow the Oath of Supremacy and subscribe the Articles" *still* passed without censure, and held their livings and preferments; and Popish agents sped their errands, and found sly encouragement, within the very walls of the palace.[5] We say, "where Puritanism was not suspected"; for where it was, even the cap and surplice, and peaceful submission to the calling of bishops, could not shield from annoyance and persecution.[6]

On the 30th of August, 1572,[7] the people of Lon-

[1] Strype's Parker, 324.
[2] Strype's Annals, III. 106, 276, 277. Neal, I. 121.
[3] Strype's Parker, 354, 355.
[4] Strype's Annals, III. 303.
[5] Strype's Parker, 353, 354, 370.
[6] Ibid., 380, compared with Annals, III. 414.
[7] Taylor's Romantic Biography, I. 167.

don were startled by a vague rumor of some terrible doings in France. The rumor was of some wild and lawless slaughter; and soon came despatches, and French refugees penniless, wayworn, haggard, and half frantic with fright, confirming the horrible report of a wholesale massacre of Protestants.

It had been well known that Henry of Navarre was about to wed the princess Margaret of Valois, — that the French king had given out that he was tired of religious wars, and would inaugurate upon this marriage a lasting peace between Huguenot and Papist, — for princes of Germany and the highest nobles of the English Court had been invited to grace the nuptials. The Huguenots had believed, and had flocked to Paris. The marriage had been solemnized on the 18th; five days of festivity had followed; when a midnight toll from the bell of St. Germain d'Auxervis gave the signal for treachery, and ten thousand Protestants fell under blade and bullet within the walls of Paris. When the fugitives made their escape for England, "La belle France" was smoking with blood, for the work was not stayed in Paris. Twenty thousand additional victims fell in the provincial towns.[1]

Great were the rejoicings at Rome. The bearer of the news thither received rich largess from the Cardinal of Lorraine; the cannon of St. Angelo thundered applause; Gregory XIII. and his cardinals went "with the greatest devotion" to the Church of St. Mark, where a solemn Mass and Te Deum

[1] The *whole* number has been rated as low as twenty thousand by some historians, as high as a hundred thousand, by others. Camden, 187. Fuller, Bk. IX. pp. 103, 104. Neal, I. 127. Hume, III. 90.

were celebrated, special "thanksgiving was rendered to God the Creator for this great mercy to his Church, and prayer was offered that he would give grace and virtue to the Most Christian King, his dear son, Charles IX. of France, to *pursue* so salutary and blessed an enterprise."[1] His Holiness caused a medal to be struck, in commemoration of "a mercy" so signal, representing the Protestants falling under the sword of an angel from heaven.[2] He also issued a bull for a jubilee to be observed, "chiefly for the happy success of the Most Christian King against the heretics."[3]

The Court of Elizabeth was clad in mourning, and her people were in consternation. They saw in this exploit, not only a new eruption of that deadly spirit which Rome had so long avowed, but the first grand act in that conspiracy of extermination which had been devised in the Council of Trent, and discussed at Bayonne.[4] The Lord Treasurer Burleigh acknowledged himself "at his wits' end," and "our Archbishop said that he gave *himself* over as a man to be carried away with the floods."[5] A like onslaught, it was believed, was intended for England; to begin with the assassination of the queen by poison or the dagger.[6] The nation was fearfully agitated. They loudly cursed the Pope and his royal confederates;[7] they publicly insulted the French ambassador and his suite;[8] and

[1] The Pope's bull; Strype's Parker, 351, and Appendix LXVIII. Lingard is silent as to this document.

[2] Life of Henry IV., by James, I. 337, note (New York, 1847).

[3] Strype's Parker, 351.

[4] Ibid., 351, 357. Haynes, 471. Carte, III. 522. Hume, III. 91. Hallam, 87, note.

[5] Strype's Parker, 352.

[6] Ibid., 357.

[7] Fenelon's Despatch, Sept. 13th.

[8] Taylor, I. 169.

the gentry and nobility clamored to be sent in arms against the perfidious French.[1] Yet the queen herself was considered strangely apathetic;[2] for, though she fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, and established military drills,[3] yet "she showed her Popish subjects much favor," and Gregory's "imps," as his Grace of Canterbury called them, had access to her palace, and were slyly encouraged there still.[4] True, the Council straitened the condition of the few Papists under arrest for ecclesiastical causes,[5] but that was an insignificant measure; they called for a general census of recusant Papists, but the Archbishop replied, that it could not be effected, for their name was Legion;[6] they also made some search for priests, but if any were taken, they found friends at Court, and so escaped.[7]

While the nation was thus agitated by the double peril of a Catholic conspiracy and a Catholic successor, the queen was seized with sudden and violent sickness, on the 15th of October;[8] and though of but a day's duration, it excited intense and protracted alarm among her subjects, for the peace of the kingdom and the fate of the Reformation hung upon her life.[9]

[1] Hume, III. 93.
[2] Strype's Parker, 353.
[3] Camden, 189. Carte, III. 522.
[4] Strype's Parker, 352, 353, 354.
[5] Ibid., 354.
[6] Ibid., 355.
[7] Ibid., 359.
[8] Cecil's Journal; Murdin, 773. Wright, I. 445; Sir Thomas Smith to Burleigh.
[9] Strype's Annals, III. 319. It would be disingenuous to take no further notice of this mysterious sickness. I therefore assign to a note a topic which I have no inclination to discuss, and which necessarily opens the whole subject of Elizabeth's equivocal deportment towards her favorites.

Strype says (Annals, III. 319) that this sickness of the queen "gave again a *mighty disturbance* unto her subjects." He then quotes, but without a word of comment, the

At the same time, the religious condition of the realm was deplorable. The royal household was a coverture for epicures and atheists; the bishops and the clergy — with some exceptions — were

very remarkable letter of Leicester, which I give below; and says that her Majesty's illness was "fainting-fits"! Camden says that it was the small-pox. So says Echard. Cecil, in his Journal, says, she "*appeared* to have the small-pox, but recovered speedily." (Murdin, 773.) Neal — to make sure of the truth — says, "fainting-fits *and* small-pox." The queen herself pretended to have had symptoms of small-pox. (The Queen to Shrewsbury; Lodge, II. 79.)

No considerate reader will be satisfied with these statements after reading the following letters, — the only ones of the time relating to the affair, which it has been my lot to find, — and perceiving that the sickness was of less than twenty-four hours, and yet excited *some kind* of popular disturbance.

Sir Thomas Smith wrote to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh as follows: "Her Majestie hathe bene very sick this last night, so that my lord of Leicester did watche with her all night. This morning, thanks be to God, she is very well. It was but a soden pang. From Wyndesor the 15 of October, 1572." — Wright, I. 445; from Harleian MS. 6991, 7.

We have also the following from Leicester to Walsingham, who was then in Paris. Strype, by mistake, considers it as having been written at the time of the queen's sickness, instead of — at least — seventeen days after.

"We have no news here, only her Majesty is in good health; and though you may hear brutes of the contrary, I assure you it is not as hath been reported. Somewhat her Majesty hath been troubled with a spice or shew of the mother, but indeed not so: the fits that she hath had hath not been above a quarter of an hour, but yet this little hath bred strange brutes here at home. God send her, I beseech him, a long life. So I bid you heartily farewell the — day of November, 1572. Your assured Friend Ro: Leicester." — Digges, 288.

This language is obscure; perhaps designedly so. Yet it can only be understood as a libel upon the queen's virginity; for though the writer denies her actual, or completed maternity, he avers that rumors of it were abroad, and were fairly occasioned by the peculiar *type* of her Majesty's illness. If it were *not* of such a type, it is difficult to suppose a sufficient motive for a villain so wary in his crimes to pen so perilous a lie. If it *were* of such a type, it is equally difficult to suppose a sufficient motive for needlessly disclosing — instead of denying — so perilous a secret.

To say that this letter tallies with allegations from other sources, and at other times, against Elizabeth's purity, is to say nothing of moment, unless these allegations rest on such evidence as the peculiarities of the case demand. To say how Thomas

wasting the patrimonies of the Church, heaping to themselves benefices, and residing away from their cures, and there was "a famine in the land, — the fair virgins and young men fainting for thirst, —

Parry and Katherine Ashley testified to "odd familiarities" — too gross for repetition here — in which the Lord Admiral Seymour indulged toward Elizabeth in her teens, is only to declare *his* coarse indecency, and to reveal how the orphan princess cowered and wept while under his roof and wardship. Through all the repulsive details of the Admiral's trial, not a shadow is cast upon her maidenly modesty. (Osborne, 76. Haynes, 96 – 100.)

To say, that reports against Elizabeth's womanly honor were current, after her accession to the throne, in the Courts of France and Spain, is only to say that she had enemies there, and that they shot whither they most might wound. To say that Henry IV., "in a jovial humor," declared three things to be inscrutable, — whether Maurice, the Prince of Orange, who had never fought a battle, were valiant; what religion he himself was of; and whether Queen Elizabeth were a maid or no (Osborne, 76), — is only to say that he could crack a joke as readily against her womanhood as against his own manhood.

Many scandalous reports were circulated about her Majesty and the Earl of Leicester; no better proof of whose existence can be given than a memorandum of Cecil, dated April, 1566, containing reasons against their marriage; one of which is, "that it will be thought that the slanderous speeches of the queen with the Earl have been true." (Haynes, 444.) Like sayings were current respecting the queen and Hatton. According to Berney's confession to Lord Leicester, written January 29, 1571–2, among the traitorous speeches of a person called Mather was this, — "that 'the queen desireth nothing but to feed her own lewd fantasy, and to cut off such of her nobility as were not perfumed and court-like to please her delicate eye, and place such as were for her turn,' meaning dancers, and meaning you, my Lord of Leicester, and one Mr. Hatton, whom, he said, 'had more recourse unto her Majesty in her privy chamber than reason would suffer if she were so virtuous and well inclined as some noiseth her'; with other such vile words as I am ashamed to speak, much more to write." (Murdin, 203 – 214. Life of Hatton, 14.)

"I am, I think credibly, informed," wrote Archbishop Parker to Burleigh in September of this year, — 1572, — "that the Mayor of Dover brought up a strange body to be examined, of whom I hear that, because your Lordship could have no leisure, ye committed the examination to Mr. Sommers" — Clerk of the Council — "and to this Mayor, and he hath it in writing that this villain should utter most shameful words against her Majesty; viz. that the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Hatton should be such towards her, as the matter is so horrible, that they

not a famine for bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord."[1] A great many parishes were without parson, vicar, or curate; the people were neglecting Divine worship, and pro-

would not write down the words, but would have uttered them to your Lordship if ye would have been at leisure." (Wright, I. 440.) "But this villain notwithstanding was delivered and sent home, to the rejoicing of his friends." (Strype's Parker, 356.)

It is also said, that "the Duke of Anjou alleged the notoriety of Elizabeth's incontinence as his reason for refusing to marry her," (Life of Hatton, 16,) — which, if true, proves the notoriety, but nothing more.

But the scandal concerning her Majesty did not rest here. It went to the utmost length.

In 1570, one Marsham was sentenced — according to 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, Cap. III., revived by 1 Eliz. Cap. VI. — to lose both his ears or pay a fine of a hundred pounds, for saying that "my Lord of Leicester had two children by the queen." (Lodge, II. 47; —— to the Countess of Shrewsbury. Life of Hatton, 14.) In January, 1572–3, one Blosse was arrested for saying that the queen was married to the Earl of Leicester about 1564, and had had four children by him. On the question whether his crime could be found treason, no law was found to prosecute him, says Strype. (Annals, III. 355, 356.) In 1576, the Privy Council ordered the Lord Mayor of Chester to discharge a man confined in the Northgate for asserting that Queen Elizabeth had two bastards by the Earl of Leicester. (*Chronology* in Prichard's Chester Guide, 1851.) About January, 1587–8, there appeared in Madrid a young man calling himself Arthur Dudley, and aged apparently about twenty-seven years, — born, therefore, about 1560, — who gave out that he was a son of the Earl of Leicester by Queen Elizabeth, and who narrated how he had been concealed and educated since his secret birth at Hampton Court. The king of Spain, of course, countenanced this man's pretensions, and gave him a pension of six crowns, nearly two pounds sterling a day, with a suitable establishment. (Ellis, 2d Series, III. 134, from Harleian MS.) Lingard (Note S, Vol. VIII.) treats the story of this pretender rather solemnly.

The haters of Elizabeth's government and religion had motives enough to originate and foster such tales; which alone is sufficient to account for them. The defamer of whom the Archbishop wrote to Burleigh in 1572, was unquestionably a partisan of the Popish conspiracy against the English government, as appears from Strype's Parker, 356; and Blosse acknowledged that he received *his* story from a Popish priest (Strype's Annals, III. 355). But from whatever source

[1] Amos viii. 11–13.

faning the Lord's day; and the very churches and chapels were falling to decay, and becoming receptacles of uncleanness.[1]

Under all these peculiar circumstances, in what

these slanders may have originated, they are supported by no testimony but that of partisan fame, which weighs nothing in comparison with the utter improbability that Queen Elizabeth should have been so demented by illicit passion as to hazard for its indulgence her womanly reputation, her popularity, as dear to her as her prerogative, and her life. Of the latter, there would, to be sure, have been no peril, if Sir James Melvil's "conjecture" about her "inability" were correct. (Memoirs, 63.)

It cannot be denied, however, that there was other cause for these libels than political and religious hatred.

As has been stated, *ante*, p. 248, regardless of appearances, Elizabeth allowed Leicester such lodgings in her own palace as would naturally give rise to scandal. Her familiarities with his person were undoubtedly inconsistent with our views of female propriety. A single instance of this is sufficient. Sir James Melvil, who was present when her Majesty created the favorite Baron of Denbigh and Earl of Leicester, informs us that, while "she herself helped to put on his ceremonial, he sitting on his knees before her with great gravity, she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck smilingly tickling him, the French ambassador and I standing by." (Memoirs, 94.)

In reference to such things, Sir Thomas Chaloner wrote to Cecil, so early as December 6, 1559, that "it became so young a princess to be wary what countenance or familiar demonstration she gave to one more than to another, for it ministered matter to lewd tongues." (Haynes, 212.)

Hatton appeared at her court about 1562; handsome, tall, graceful, of elegant manners, and, what particularly pleased the queen, an accomplished dancer. (Life of Hatton, 4.) When absent from her Court, he was permitted to address her in the language of an ardent and successful lover; and from the style of his letters it is fair to infer what were the familiarities, or at least the tender courtesies, which passed between them when together. For an example, take the following, written when he was on the Continent for his health, in June, 1573:—

"In reading your gracious letters . . . . with my tears I blot them. In thinking of them, I feel so great comfort, that I find cause, as God knoweth, to thank you on my knees. Death had been much more my advantage, than to win health and life by so loathsome a pilgrimage. The time of two days hath drawn me further from you than ten, when I return, can lead me towards you. . . . . No death, no, not hell, no fear of death, shall ever win of me

[1] Strype's Parker, 395, 396; Burleigh's Memoranda.

way were the energies of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners employed? In providing an antidote to Papistry, a corrective of irreligion, licentiousness, and practical atheism, and nourishment for the Reformation, by the vigorous preaching of the Gospel? There was, indeed, a special prayer devised for repentance and mercy; another, for deliverance from enemies; another, with thanksgiving, for the preservation of the queen; and another, "relating to the apprehension of danger" and to the persecution of foreign Protestants;[1] — but instead of laboring for that for which they prayed, instead of bridling immorality and fostering piety, instead of sending out ardent men girded with the sword of the

my consent so far to wrong myself again as to be absent from you one day. . . . . Would God I were with you but for one hour. . . . . Bear with me, my most dear, sweet lady. Passion overcometh me. I can write no more. Love me, for I love you. God, I beseech thee, witness the same on the behalf of thy poor servant. Once again I crave pardon, and so bid your own poor Lidds farewell. 1573, June. Your bondman everlastingly tied, Ch. Hatton." — Life of Hatton, 25, 26.

This needs no explanation, except to say that her Majesty had pet names for most of her ministers and favorites. Thus Burleigh was her Spirit; Walsingham, her Moon; Lady Norris, her Crow; Hatton, her Lidds, probably because of some peculiarity in his eyelids, her Mutton, and her Bell-wether. So they sometimes styled themselves. (Ibid., 126, note, 275.)

With these few and meagre statements, I leave the reader to solve the enigmatical letter of "that terrestrial Lucifer, Leicester," (Osborne, 42,) only remarking, — 1. That in the business of railing accusation the Devil could beat Michael, the archangel (Jude, 9); 2. That, in such delicate cases especially, it is easier plausibly to allege a hundred affirmatives, than to prove one negative; and, 3. That the very strongest evidence is necessary to satisfy a candid mind that a woman in Elizabeth's position, of her masculine character, who as a sovereign had almost imperative inducements to marry, would have refused every offered opportunity of honorable issue, and yet have incurred the *double* risk of that which would have been infamous. Even licentiousness the most extravagant would have sought, under such circumstances, a conventional screen for its crimes.

[1] Strype's Parker, 358.

Spirit, and in the name of "judgment, mercy, and faith," the lord-keepers of souls were toiling for "external matters in religion,"[1] and smiting hip and thigh the loyal subjects of the queen, the ripe scholars of the schools, the earnest ministers of Christ.

The "seditious" religionists were becoming formidable. They were worshipping God, like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, contrary to the royal decree; "reading prayers different from the established order"; and they were issuing their books plentifully, for the Commissioners could not find their press. These things "gave great grief to the Archbishop and the other good bishops," and great offence to the queen; so that they began to be "pretty brisk upon these men," whom they "knew to be cowards." Being "pretty brisk" meant "prosecuting the Puritans *more* vigorously than before."[2]

[1] Strype's Parker, 395. [2] Ibid., 325, 388, 389, 412, 421, 422.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## "PRETTY BRISK." (ARCHBISHOP PARKER.)

REASONS FOR DISCIPLINING PURITANS, AND REASONINGS AGAINST THEM. — THE ARCHBISHOP'S PERPLEXITIES. — PERSECUTION FOR OPINIONS OPENED. — THE NEW "FANTASIES" SPREAD. — PROCLAMATION FOR ENFORCING THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY. — NEW ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONS. — THE COUNCIL REBUKE THE BISHOPS FOR SLACKNESS. — CHARGE TO THE COMMISSIONERS. — LORD BURLEIGH'S POSITION. — TESTS IMPOSED BY THE COMMISSIONERS. — MINISTERS SILENCED AND IMPRISONED. — "THE PHYSICIANS THEMSELVES SICK."

### 1573.

WHAT right have these castle-builders to think? What right to think the structure and discipline of the primitive Church the only model for the British Church, fifteen hundred years gone by? What right to stick doggedly to the New Testament as the rule of ecclesiastical policy, all written whenas there was no magistrate in the Church, and so no magistrate to whom the appointment of the clergy and the regulation of worship could appertain? The earliest Church *with a prince* is the proper model for the present Church with a prince. Therefore, *that* Church, speaking through its fathers, should be, in such matters, our sacred oracle, and theirs.[1]

The accidental points of ecclesiastical policy are to be framed as they may best agree to that commonwealth where the Gospel is received, so they be not

[1] Whitgift's argument.

against the Word of God, but tend to comeliness and edification.[1]

But these new builders' devices are for a building which hitherto, we think, in no Christian nation under kingly rule hath found any foundation upon earth; but now, and for a princely state, it is framed upon suppositions in the air, full of absurdities and impossibilities. It is high time that such naughty *opinions* should be whipped, for they be most plausible to a great number of the people, who labor to live in all liberty, — an unfit thing, bringing confusion, — and do make them hate the bishops, a thing both uncomely and uncomfortable.[2]

It is high time for these *opinions* to be schooled, for the number is grown great of dealers in this action. Some whereof, doubtless, be both honest and learned, though other some be puffed up with vainglory, and have great delight to hear themselves talk. Greater the number of those that favor them; whereof some it seemeth are persuaded that they hold with the Truth, and so in conscience incline unto them. Others, no doubt, are Papists indeed; and, because they dare not openly promote Popery, egg these men forward secretly to deface the Gospel. Other are atheists, — as Leicester and the like greedy courtiers, — and set them on only because they themselves gape for the spoil of the clergy, which they hope most easily to bring to pass under color of reformation.[3]

[1] Hutton to Burleigh, Oct. 6, 1573; Murdin, 264.

[2] Parker and Sandys's Circular; Strype's Parker, 433, 434.

[3] Hutton to Burleigh; Murdin, 261, 262.

It is high time for these *opinions* to be schooled, because, moreover, they be dangerous. These reformers run counter to God's vicegerent, Elizabeth. They would take authority in causes ecclesiastical from the Queen's Majesty, and give it to themselves, with the grave seniory or elders of every parish. For by the seniory would they have every cause debated when any ariseth in the congregation. If the elders cannot end it, then it is to be debated by the ministers and seniory of parishes adjoining. If these cannot end it, it is to be debated by a national council. If the national council cannot, then by a general council of all the Churches Reformed. They make no mention of the queen's authority; and yet, we warrant ye, could they once get on foot, they would be mighty eager for her authority, and have her draw forth her sword and see that this order of *theirs* be kept. This she hath to do, and more than this she hath not to do, if we believe some of them.[1]

Furthermore, whereas *we* say, that it is a parcel of the queen's authority, in causes ecclesiastical, to appoint bishops and archbishops, and other ministers, either by herself or other wise and learned, and to remove them if they do not their duty, these men would not only have an equality of ministers (the mother of confusion and nurse of contention), but also would deprive the Queen's Highness of this authority, and give it to the people; that every parish should choose their own minister. Which law would bring about another hurly-burly, worse than hath been about garments; for were it put in practice in this country, divers parishes would have none

[1] Hutton; in Murdin, 262.

but a Papist; others would have the best companion at tables,—not the best preacher in the pulpit. And whereas they allege that the Apostles, *by voices and lifting up the hands of the people*, did appoint ministers in every church, though that were granted (for there are divers opinions), yet doth not that bind the Church but that ministers may be appointed other ways; for neither were there at that time any magistrates to whose office it did appertain. But now, seeing we have a Christian prince, she, by the advice of the sage Council of the realm, and the counsel of the grave fathers of the Church, can better discern whom to place over Christ's flock, than the multitude, which have commonly many heads, many wits, but not the best judgment.[1]

In a popular state it is meet the people should rule; under an oligarchy, the wise and grave magistrates. But in a kingdom, the people may not bear the sway without doing injury to the prince that *representeth the person of God.* Therefore, to compel this realm to all the ecclesiastical polity of Geneva, which is an oligarchy, a state differing from a kingdom, or to all the accidental points of policy used in the Apostles' time, (when there was no Christian magistrate but great persecution,) is more than can be vouched by the Word of God, and also *dangerous* to the present state and *derogatory* to her Majesty's authority. For as Calvin liketh best of the ecclesiastical policy which agreeth better to a popular state than to a kingdom, so doth he hold an opinion that the state called Aristocratia, or oligarchy, or one mixed of it and of that which is called Politia,

[1] Hutton; in Murdin, 264.

or democracy, doth far excel all other states. But surely, neither by divinity nor philosophy can it be proved but that a kingdom governed by good and godly laws, and by a prince that ruleth his subjects as a father doth his own children, is the most excellent state of all commonwealths. This is not to discredit Calvin, who surely was as worthy and as learned a man, and hath profited the Church as much, as *ever did any since the Apostles' time;* but to show that he was a man, and that, as he thought not so well of a kingdom as of a popular state, *so* did he like best of that ecclesiastical policy which agreeth better to a popular state than to a kingdom.[1]

These reformers speak profanely of the prince, saying that she ruleth in the commonwealth *only* as God's vicegerent, and in the Church of God is only to *see* that all *be* ruled of the Lord; whereas in *both* she ruleth as vicegerent, so that her ecclesiastical laws — not contrary to the Word of God, but tending to edify the Church — may not with safe conscience be disobeyed of any subject, for whoso lifteth up the heel against the vicegerent doeth it against God. It is a hard kind of doctrine to say, that the prince's laws, though they be good, bind not the conscience. True, some things are simply good, some simply evil, and some indifferent; and things indifferent do not bind the conscience. Albeit laws may be made of things indifferent, for comeliness in the Church; and so things indifferent made not indifferent, but to be obeyed even for conscience' sake. This kind of laws bindeth not the conscience in such sort as do the moral laws of Moses, whereunto we are

[1] Hutton; in Murdin, 265.

always bound without respect of time and place, or man, or man's law; but, as the ceremonies of Moses' law, while they were in force, might not be violated with a safe conscience, so the good and godly laws of princes, though they be not given from God immediately, nor equal to God's laws, yet, because they are the lawful commandments of his *anointed and vicegerents* here on earth, may not be broken without disobedience to God. Wherefore it be much better to say that the good laws of princes bind the conscience, than to say with others the contrary; though by a quiddity in learning it might be defended.[1]

Some hold an opinion that the prince ought not to take away, by any positive law, that liberty which God hath given in things indifferent. This opinion doth overthrow many statutes of this realm, whereunto we are to obey, not for that the things themselves do bind the conscience, but because they are established by lawful authority.[2]

But these men are marvellously offended that bishops are called Lords and Honorable; and think that those high titles are usurped against God's Word, because Christ, answering to the contentious ambition of the Apostles, said, "The kings of nations are lords over them, &c., but ye, not so." But if he be called Lord which hath the rule and government over his own house, or which hath the order over any people or flock, as Joseph was called Lord governing the Egyptians under the king; if a poor man, letting his ground or house but for five shillings a year, is usually called land-Lord, what

[1] Hutton; in Murdin, 263. [2] Ibid.

offence is it if bishops, having lands and lordships, be called Lords? More marvel is it that men cannot abide their being called Honorable. St. Paul seemeth not to be so precise: "Let the elders," saith he, "that rule well, be counted worthy of double honor." Now if it please the queen so to esteem of bishops, for their learning, knowledge, and virtue, as to take them among her Lords, and count them Honorable, and to place them to counsel in Parliament or otherwise, it is not to be thought that any offence is committed against God's blessed Word, so long as the bishops contend not for the same *ambitiously*, which fault our Saviour reproved in his Apostles.

Besides, Aaron was appointed by God with Moses for the government of God's people, and was counted in authority not far under Moses. God commanded that kings, for their better government, should peruse the book called Deuteronomonium, which they should receive of the priests, who were thought to be had in great reverence and authority for that they were the keepers of such mysteries. The prophets, no doubt, were in great authority, and well esteemed with kings and with people. How honorably did Constantine the Great use the godly bishops in the Council of Nice! How honorably did Theodosius the Emperor use Ambrose![1]

Such were the opinions which now alarmed the prelates; and such were the reasonings now brought against them, and on which proceedings against their advocates were grounded. Setting aside that

[1] Parker to Burleigh; Strype's Parker, 436.

in favor of Lord Bishops, these reasonings of the Precisian party are at least respectable, temperate, courteous, and to a degree plausible; the most so, probably, of any from the pens of Churchmen in this year. They will be noticed with comparative satisfaction and pleasure by every intelligent reader, whatever his ecclesiastical preferences.

Yet the statement that the ecclesiastical policy ought to correspond with that of the state, and that touching the prince as God's ecclesiastical vicegerent and lawgiver, however satisfactory and sound they may have seemed to the school to which the writer belonged, could by no means satisfy the Puritan objector, because each was but a begging of the question; an advancing as axioms two fundamental points in dispute.

Nor was the scruple of the conscientious Puritan at all met by the reasoning about things indifferent; for in his view, the rites, ceremonies, and vestures of the Church had long been changed from indifferent to sinful by their association — *still existing in the popular mind* — with an idolatrous religion. Having been thus changed from their original and intrinsic indifference, the laws enforcing them could not be considered "good and godly," and therefore could not be obligatory upon one who held that countenancing idolatry was sin in God's eyes, — a breach of those "moral laws of Moses whereunto we are all bound, without respect of time and place, or man or man's law." Before the Puritan's cavil, the argument therefore was irrelevant, and fell to the ground. Besides, the Popish garments, he said, have *now* become *themselves* very idols indeed; *made so* by

being exalted above the Word of God Almighty.[1] As for the policy of the Established Church, especially in its connection with the State, the view of the Puritan — a true one — was, that "in the Church of the Traditioners," — so called because they now avowed the traditions of the Church to be its rules of government, — "there is no other discipline than that which hath been maintained by the antichristian Pope of Rome, whereby the Church of God hath always been afflicted, and is to this day."[2]

That the Presbyterian plan for the election of ministers would install Papists and pot-companions in the sacred office, was an objection doubly unfortunate, for it was confessed that "Popish Massing priests were allowed in the ministry" under the system then existing;[3] while, at the same time, there had been, and still was, "lamentable corruption of patrons and clerks, parsons alienating their glebes, forgiving their patrons their tithes, and paying sums of money, to get admission into their churches";[4] it had "come to pass that some were for setting boys and serving-men, mere lay-bodies, to bear the names of livings";[5] and "the Devil and corrupt patrons took such order, that much of the hope that the land would be replenished with able and learned pastors was cut off, for patrons did not search the universities for a most painful pastor, but posted up and down the country for a most gainful chapman. He that had the

[1] Strype's Parker, 435.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Henry, Earl of Huntington, Lord President of the North, to Burleigh, in 1578; Strype's Annals, IV. 174.

[4] Strype's Life of Parker, 98; in 1561.

[5] Ibid. 249; in 1567. Zurich Letters, pp. 247, 271.

biggest purse to pay largely, not he that had the best gifts to preach learnedly, was presented to a benefice."[1] Moreover, not long after this year, the Lords of Council complained, with reason, that "persons were appointed to ecclesiastical vacancies who had neither learning nor good name; and that unlearned curates, chargeable with drunkenness, filthy life, gambling, alehousing, were suffered, without apprehension or other proceeding."[2] *Thus* it was unfortunate for the writer to urge that such things would be, under the plan of popular elections. And yet again, under the Establishment, men were members of the Church by natural birth; the Church was the nation, — Papists, rabble, and all; an order of things which the Puritan held in detestation, utterly at variance with his very idea of a Christian Church.[3] According to his *régime* none but members of the Church would have had voice in the election of ministers, and none but those of sound doctrine, sober conversation, and upright lives would have been members of the Church.

We have digressed from our course, to note the irrelevancy of the best paper against the Puritans which it has been our fortune to meet. It was our object simply to show in what posture of mind the most temperate and enlightened Churchmen, at this time, held themselves toward the movement for ecclesiastical reformation. To this point we return.

The reasonings above cited deeply affected the

[1] Preface to Bullinger's Decades, published in England in 1584. See Strype's Whitgift, 186; Annals, IV. 146.

[2] Strype's Whitgift, 166.

[3] See *ante*, page 448, note 7 (1), and Hanbury, I. 40.

Primate of Canterbury; particularly the consideration — it was his Grace's *own* — that a five-shilling rental made a man a lord. (What this or the rest of his words about lordship had to do with the Puritan objection to joining civil dignities and functions to the Gospel ministry, it is impossible to say, or to see.) He was "full of perplexities, what would become of the Church and the nation by reason of these innovators," with their fantastical *opinions;* and the more because he knew that they were "now framing themselves into more formal separation,"[1] and that, in some places, the parishes were electing their own ministers.[2] As he pondered their seditious opinions, he trembled, "not that he cared either for cap, tippet, surplice, or wafer bread, or any such"; nor, that he was in fear of being displaced by the Puritans, for he protested before God he was not. But it was "for the laws established; for her Majesty's safety, estimation, and governance."[3] The mischief now was in opinions. What might they not do in the way of havoc! Hence it was, that he was "more busy than, peradventure, some thought he needed to be";[4] which we shall soon proceed to show.

The ecclesiastical severities of Elizabeth kept pace with her strength. She did not begin to annoy those who scrupled exact conformity, until in 1564 her government had become well established. Nor did she furnish her arsenal with artillery expressly

[1] Queen's Proclamation, Strype's Parker, 421, 434.
[2] Strype's Parker, 436.
[3] Ibid., 421; Appendix, 185.
[4] Ibid., 421.

fitted to meet the Catholics, or prick the Puritans more vigorously with her sword, until, in 1569, she had openly demonstrated the folly of insurrection; nor until it had become evident to herself — about the same time — that her power, more than that of any English prince had ever been, was respected abroad.[1] To quiet certain rumors that it was her intent to make inquisition of men's consciences in matters of religion, her Majesty made public declaration in 1570, that "she would not allow any of her subjects to be molested, either by examination or inquisition in any matter of faith, as long as they should profess the Christian faith, not gainsaying the authority of the Holy Scriptures or the articles of faith contained in the creeds Apostolic and Catholic."[2] The particular occasion for that declaration had passed away. From this point of our narrative we shall have opportunity to judge of its sincerity.

The controversy in the Church "was, at the beginning, but a cap, and a surplice, and a tippet, but now it had grown to bishops and archbishops, and cathedral churches, and the overthrow of the order established, and (to speak plain) to the Queen's Majesty's authority in causes ecclesiastical. If it had been looked to nine years before, this hurly-burly had not now happened."[3] In other words, from ceremonials, the difference had now opened in "a matter of faith," or opinion, between parties *both* of whom "professed the Christian faith, not gainsaying

[1] Killegrew to Cecil, 1569; Haynes, 516.

[2] Haynes, 591, 592. Strype's Annals, II. 371, 372.

[3] Hutton to Burleigh; Murdin, 262.

the authority of the Holy Scriptures or the creeds Apostolic and Catholic." How was it *now* about the queen's allowing her subjects to be molested by examination into their opinions? How was it henceforth?

The Puritans offered to give an exposition in public of their ecclesiastical opinions, and there to defend them against the objections of the prelatical party. But the Lord Treasurer would not suffer it, giving a statesman's reason, — that it was not proper to question her Majesty's established laws. Doubtless he knew that logomachy could never settle or mitigate religious differences.[1]

In the latter part of March, 1573, "divers of the most eminent men among the Puritans" were arraigned, — some before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, some before the Council. "For matter of ceremonies? for any other *external* matters appertaining to the Christian religion, as frequentation of Divine service"? — matters expressly kept open for prosecution by her Majesty's gracious declaration before mentioned. Not at all. It was "by way of examination of their secret opinions in their consciences for matters of faith" *other* than "contained in the creeds Apostolic and Catholic," — the annoyance and wrong from which the declaration, in the very words here quoted, had pledged exemption. It was, to be "examined particularly about Cartwright's Book, and other matters, relating to the reformation of the Church, boldly contradicted therein"; about "their secret opinions" on the points following.

[1] Strype's Parker, 412.

1. Whether it be lawful for a private man openly to disprove [disapprove] or condemn in doctrine that thing that is established by public authority, before he hath, by humble supplication, showed the error thereof to the said authority, expressing his name and hand to the same?[1]

2. Whether the Book of Service be good and godly, *every tittle* grounded on the Holy Scripture?

3. Whether the Book of Articles established by Parliament be agreeable to God's Word or not?

4. Whether we must of necessity follow the primitive Church in such things as be used or established, or not?

5. Whether all ministers in the Church of God should be of equal authority, as well concerning their jurisdiction, as administration of the Word and Sacraments?[2]

To undergo this inquisition, Field and Wilcox were summoned from prison. After their examination, they were remanded to Newgate, being told by the Council, at the same time, that, "except the queen would pardon them, they should be banished

[1] Strype says, that "four subscribed to this question, that 'it was not lawful'; and that hereupon it was observed that they had all condemned Cartwright's Book." (Strype's Parker, 413.) If he understood this remark to have been applied to the first Admonition, which he usually, but by mistake, calls "Cartwright's Book," he probably misunderstood. The Admonition of Field and Wilcox, although it condemned the prelatic order of the Church, was itself "an humble supplication presented to the public authority" by the authors with their own hands, before having "openly disapproved or condemned the thing established." Presenting it to Parliament was not *openly* condemning the Ecclesiastical Establishment, for Parliament sat with closed doors, and the book, although printed, was not "suffered to go abroad" until after its authors had been committed to Newgate. (Brook, I. 319.) "They were taken up and imprisoned for *offering* this seditious book to Parliament." (Strype's Annals, III. 275.)

[2] Strype's Parker, 412.

the realm for disliking our Book of Religion"! Two others were told — the same in substance — that "they should be banished also, *if they would not agree* to our religion"![1] If this threat was not made merely to scare them into orthodoxy, but with serious intent, it shows a decided proclivity on the part of the government to the most despotic measures; for there was no law for such a punishment in such a case. However, the sinners were neither pardoned, nor converted, nor banished.[2]

Mr. Cartwright was also summoned to be catechised, but prudently kept himself concealed. Whereupon, warrant was issued for his arrest, as has already been stated.[3]

Of the style in which these examinations were conducted, and of the answers given by the several examinates, we have no account. But it is quite enough to know, that in these proceedings men's consciences were sifted upon compulsion, under the frown of civil power.

Such was the first step in "the more vigorous prosecution" of the men whom "the queen was resolved to suppress";[4] the first act of the English Inquisition; the first violation of that royal pledge, that none should be molested for their "secret opinions."

The ball once in motion, the Archbishop girded up his loins. In May, he exhorted the Lord Treasurer and the Privy Council, pathetically, to be valorous against these wild fantasies about a popular Church; "otherwise, he feared they should feel a

[1] Strype's Parker, 413.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Neal, I. 129.
[4] Strype's Parker, 412.

Muncer's Commonwealth attempted shortly.[1] If the laws of the land be rejected, if the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, if her chapel, if her authority, be so neglected, if our Book of Service be so abominable, and such paradoxes be applauded to, — God send us of his grace! I fear our wits be infatuated!"[2] And again in June, when more Puritans were before the inquisition in the Star-Chamber, he made an oration about the perils of the Church, the perils of the nation, the perils of the queen, affirming that these "cowards," like stealthy huntsmen, were compassing them about with secret toils. It seems as though this rhetorical effort may have been twin to that in behalf of lord bishops; for his Grace had misgivings about its efficacy as soon as he returned to Lambeth palace. "Fearing that the zeal of the Council might cool" notwithstanding, he immediately wrote to the Lord Treasurer, stirring him up to further and stouter proceedings; to encourage his Lordship to which, he told him, in conclusion, that "he was going to pray to God that all things might prosperously succeed."[3] Sandys, Bishop of London, was his yoke-fellow in this kind of labor; and in the presence-chamber one day he instigated, or at least hastened, another measure against the Whimsicals,—

[1] Muncer was a politico-religious fanatic, who appeared in Thuringia in 1526; one of the leaders in "the War of the Peasants." His aim was to level the power of the nobility, to level all conventional distinctions, to abolish property, to place all men in a common rank, and to establish a community of goods from which each one should draw his quota for subsistence. Under his direction, the peasants took forcible possession of the cities, deposed the magistrates, seized the estates of the nobles, and compelled them to wear garments of like fashion and fabric with their own. (Robertson's Charles V., p. 206, New York, 1829.)

[2] Strype's Parker, 420.

[3] Ibid., 421.

the queen's abortive proclamation of the 11th of June, mentioned before, in which she ordered the people to bring in all copies of the Admonition; and, moreover, did "straitly charge and command them, on pain of her highest indignation, to keep the order of common prayer, Divine service, and administration of the sacraments, according as in the Book of Service they were set forth, and none other contrary or repugnant."[1]

These prelates were also on the watch to catch any one who might utter a word in favor of "the new seditious fancies." Two or three of the select preachers at Paul's Cross, who commended the obnoxious opinions, had pursuivants after them in a trice, but were out of the way betimes.[2] Even the churches of foreigners were watched, and strictly forbidden to receive any English subject to their fellowship or worship.[3]

Nor did the zeal of the two bishops end with these measures. Impressed with "the imminent danger of Cartwright and his party's principles," they established conferences for consultation, — to thwart the endeavors of these underminers of their order, — which conferences were held at Lambeth palace by appointment from time to time according to exigencies, to which other bishops were called by special missives, and which were "to be kept secret among themselves."[4] Instant in season and out of season were these bishops.

To him who fumes about them, the worst prop-

[1] Strype's Parker, 421, 422.
[2] Ibid., 427. Neal, I. 124. Brook, I. 278; II. 70.
[3] Strype's Parker, 428; Annals, III. 421.
[4] Strype's Parker, 434.

erty of opinions is, that they are incorporeal, intangible. One cannot catch them to scotch them, or to lock them up. If the thinker be put in ward, not so the thought. Troublesome as it is, it is vapory, ethereal, volatile; treats fetters and stone walls as a giant does pasteboard and packthread; cannot be scared by rack or royalty; scorns what men call power; and, like a gibing sprite, goes whithersoever it lists, listeth whomsoever it will, and multiplies itself indefinitely, without weariness or limit. Thus, in their crusade against opinions, Matthew of Canterbury and Edwin of London were sadly baffled; "laboring in the very fire, and wearying themselves for very vanity"; and — to complete their dolor — were berated by their mistress for being lazy.

The new opinions had spread. They had grown stout and bold. They were preached and heard. They were printed and read. They were applauded and put in practice. The orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, maugre "the queen's highest indignation," were *not* "kept"; but were openly broken and despised. New rites were adopted. "New churches were set up." Yet these new churches, — these Genevan *Presbyteries*, — the watchmen knew of them, but could not find them.[1] This would never do. The supreme power must move. "The anointed vicegerent of God" must again interpose.

On the 20th of October, therefore, the queen uttered another proclamation. "The Queen's Majesty being right sorry to understand that the order of Common Prayer set forth . . . . . by authority of Parliament is . . . . . now of late despised and

[1] Strype's Parker, [446]. Neal, I. 126.

spoken against, . . . . . the cause of which disorders . . . . . be the negligence of the bishops and other magistrates," &c. — Elizabeth was an expert demagogue; always saying, and in her public acts demeaning herself accordingly, "that she could believe nothing of her *people* which parents would not believe of their children";[1] that "her state did require her to command what she knew her *people* would willingly do from their own love to her." "Again, she could put forth such alterations," in her behavior, — "when obedience *was* lacking, as left no doubtings whose daughter she was."[2] So, in this case, she charged the fault, not upon the disloyalty or depravity of her loving subjects at large, but upon the negligence of the bishops and magistrates.—The proclamation continued: "For speedy remedy whereof, her Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth" all in authority ecclesiastic and ordinary "to put in execution the Act for the uniformity of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments, . . . . . with all diligence and severity; neither favoring nor dissembling with one person nor other who doth neglect, despise, or seek to alter the godly orders and rites set forth in the said book. But if any person shall, by public preaching, writing, or printing, contemn, despise, or dispraise the orders contained in the said book, they shall immediately apprehend him, and cause him to be imprisoned until he hath answered to the law, upon pain that the chief officers being present at any such preaching, and the whole parish, shall answer for their contempt and negligence.

[1] Camden, 233. [2] Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 356.

"Likewise if any shall forbear to come to the Common Prayer and receive the Sacraments of the Church, according to the order in the book allowed, upon no just and lawful cause, all such they"—the magistrates ecclesiastical and civil—"shall inquire of, present, and see punished with more care and diligence than heretofore hath been done. The which negligence hath been cause why such disorders have of late now so much and in so many places increased and grown.

"And if any persons shall, either in private houses or in public places, make assemblies, and therein use other rites of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments than is prescribed in the said book, or shall *maintain in their houses* any persons notoriously charged, by books or preachings, to attempt the alteration of the said orders, they"—the magistrates—"shall see *such* persons punished with all severity according to the laws of this realm, by pains appointed in the said act.

"And because these matters do principally appertain to the persons ecclesiastical, . . . . . her Majesty giveth a most special and earnest charge to all such, to have a vigilant eye and care to these things, and to proceed from time to time by ordinary and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, . . . . . with all celerity and severity, against all persons who shall offend, . . . . . upon pain of her Majesty's high displeasure for their negligence, and deprivation from their dignities and benefices, or other censures to follow, according to their demerits."[1]

Matthew Hutton, Dean of York, in his admirable

[1] Sparrow, 169, 170.

letter of the 6th of the month, which we have largely quoted, and which Lord Burleigh had expressly solicited, had closed with the following wise and truly Christian counsel:—"If there be things to be amended in the Church of England, — as it is hard to have a thing so perfect but it may be amended, — God hath blessed her Majesty above the capacity of her sex with singular learning; her Honorable Council — some especially — are passing well learned, and the grave fathers of the Church, — so many in number, so zealous in the truth, so well learned in godly learning, — let them gather themselves together in the name of Christ; let them consult without affection" — bent of mind; — "let them talk with the authors of 'The Admonition and Platform'; [1] let them answer them, and satisfy them, — if it be possible, — by reason of God's Word; and if there be either defect in the laws, or disorder for want of execution of the laws, let it be reformed by public authority. Only let us not, through bitter and uncharitable contention, hinder the course of the Gospel, give occasion to the enemy to rejoice, and gratify them that gape for the spoil of the clergy." [2]

It is refreshing to transcribe such sentiments from the paper of a Churchman of that day. No doubt they were approved by the discreet and high-minded statesman to whom they were offered. But what could he do? He "was sworn to be a minister of

[1] "The Admonition contained their grievances who presented it, with a declaration of the only way to redress them, viz. by admitting that *Platform* which was there prescribed." — Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 102.

[2] Murdin, 265.

her Majesty's determinations, and not of his own or of others."[1] Her Majesty's motto was, "*Semper eadem.*" *She* would not admit any need of amendment in her Church Established; and hence her stern order, by the proclamation, for unsparing severity.

Nor was this proclamation all. Ecclesiastical commissions were issued under the Great Seal to trustworthy persons in the several shires, to execute the proclamation by way of Oyer and Terminer. Of these, the Archbishop and bishops were the chief. They were deputed to determine and punish especially all offences against the orders of the Church.[2]

Moreover, the proclamation "was backed" by a letter, dated November 7th, from the Council to the bishops, and written by the queen's command. It told them "that it was mostly their fault that such diversities, contentions, and unseemly disputations had arisen; that they and their officers had heretofore performed their visitations and held their courts more — and the more the pity — to get money, or for some other sinister purposes, than to keep their churches in uniform and godly order; that they were now and hereby required to keep a vigilant eye, to see to it that in *no one* church there be *any* deformity, or difference from the prescribed orders, and to punish all offenders."[3]

This letter stung the bishops. It seemed hard, after all that they had done, that they could not satisfy their mistress;[4] that now they, instead of the

[1] Cecil to the Queen, 1560; Wright, I. 25.

[2] Strype's Parker [447], 457; Annals, III. 384.

[3] Strype's Parker, 454.

[4] Neal, I. 127, note.

temporal officers, should be made to shoulder both the drudgery and the odium of prosecutors; and above all, that they should be charged with covetousness.[1] But there was no alternative; and they obeyed.

To complete the arrangements of the Court, those who had just been put in commission, and "who now were about going into their respective counties to execute the laws upon ecclesiastical offenders,"[2] were assembled in the Star-Chamber on the 28th of November to receive from the Lord Treasurer their final charge.

"A number of vicars, curates, preachers, and readers," said he, "young in years, but over-young in brains, have made sundry alterations, according to their own imaginations and conceits, in the common services of the Church. They have also diffused erroneous opinions, such as make men think the prescribed orders and rites of the Church burdenous to conscience. This is a matter pernicious to the state of government; a danger which her Majesty, by the charge committed to her by Almighty God, is bound to stay by speedy good means. These corrupt opinions tend to the violation of laws *without offence to conscience*. Hence come violent and audacious attempts, of which her Majesty is daily hearing; and as you are now to repair to your several counties, she reiterates her earnest intent to reform these disorders and corruptions, which are brought about both by malpractice and by unsound doctrine. She cannot be quiet in her conscience without earnestly prosecuting the reformation hereof; nor can she think

[1] Strype's Parker, 455.

[2] Ibid., 456.

any of her subjects, especially her ecclesiastical officers, worthy to live under her protection, or anywise to enjoy her favor, who shall directly or indirectly maintain any person to alter, by example *or doctrine*, the established orders of the Church.

"Her Majesty also willeth that you her Commissioners, and other justices, in your several places, do use your endeavor that her injunctions, at several times published, for the uniform government and rites of the Church, be observed by all persons.

"And whereas these doctrines of alterations or varieties may be thought even by persons of value and note — perchance by some nominated in the commissions — to be not so perilous as her Majesty doth conceive them, but to be merely of the nature of arguments or disputations, and whereas some may think that these innovators have cause to account some rites of the Church not so perfect as might be, her Majesty hath commanded me to make it manifest that the perils *are* such, and so great as she judgeth them.

"In a family, or in a ship, if the commander and the persons under him fall to such a difference that there be contrariness between his directions and their behavior, what will ensue but beggary in the one case, and shipwreck in the other? By like dissensions, kingdoms may be overthrown. And if disorder, if dissension, if contention, may bring these perils in civil causes, what ought not to be greatlier feared in spiritual, — in causes of religion and conscience? Such example hath her Majesty remem-

bered to me to be uttered."[1] Here the original, in Lord Burleigh's handwriting, abruptly ends.

This was all very well, if it be admitted that the unity and harmony, the vigor, thrift, and existence of Christ's true Church, depend upon a common form of worship, a common government, and a common executive head, for all the congregations in a civil commonwealth. On these points, the Puritan was as yet all wrong; the Protestant Churchman was equally so; and the Catholic was no worse. Each thought his own platform and polity and discipline the true, and to be enforced by the sword of the prince. The Puritan was sincere in saying, that "in the Church, the magistrate was only to *see* that all *be* ruled of the Lord."[2] The Protestant Churchman — but a step farther back — was equally sincere in saying that the magistrate had a right, at his own discretion, to *legislate* for the Church, as well as to coerce obedience. Elizabeth was not under the cloud alone. We may therefore concede, at least, sincerity to her opinions, as expressed by the Lord Treasurer to the commissioners. Did she sharply resent disobedience to her ecclesiastical laws? She was a queen. Was she jealous to an extreme of her ecclesiastical supremacy? She was human. Did she fondly fancy the policy and ritual of *her* Church above amendment? She was a woman. However low we may estimate her piety, — using the word in its purest sense,[3] —

[1] Strype's Parker, 456 – 458.

[2] Hutton, *supra;* and Sampson to Burleigh, Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 177; and the Admonition as quoted by Neal, I. 74, 75.

[3] "I can most cordially testify, what I certainly know to be the fact, and assert most confidently, that she is indeed a child of God." — Sampson to Peter Martyr, in 1560; Zurich Letters, No. XXXIX.

we exceed warrant if we charge her measures upon singular depravity.

Burleigh was a strict and honest Churchman. But the reader must not suppose that in this address he spake his own sentiments; that he approved of the queen's rigidity, preciseness, and severity; or that he was blind to the evils which the Puritans sought to reform. Besides, upon another occasion, he confessed to a leader of the Puritans, that some, and those the most important, of "their motions he liked well; but that he could not do the good which he would, or which others thought that he could."[1] His address to the commissioners was "by command," as he repeatedly stated therein. Neither his ministerial words nor acts are to be taken as indices of his own opinions or wishes. He was "sworn to be a minister of her Majesty's determinations, and not of his own." "I do hold, and will always," said he in a letter to his son, "this course in such matters as I differ in opinion from her Majesty. As long as I may be allowed to give advice, I will not change my opinion by affirming the contrary; for that were to offend God, to whom I am sworn first. But as a servant I will obey her Majesty's commandment, and in no wise oppose or thwart the same; presuming that, she being God's chief minister here, it shall be God's will to have her commandments obeyed, after that I have performed my duty as a counsellor, and shall in my heart wish her commandments to have such good successes as I am sure she intendeth. You see I am in a mixture of divinity and polidy, preferring in policy her Majesty afore all others on the earth; and

[1] Strype's Parker, [448], Appendix, p. 177; Annals, III. 395.

in divinity, the King of heaven above all betwixt Alpha and Omega."[1]

About this time some one — whose name does not appear — proposed to the Council, that every minister and preacher in the kingdom should be required to give bonds, with good sureties, in the sum of two hundred pounds, to observe to a tittle the Book of Common Prayer, and all existing constitutions, decrees, and orders, and such as might *thereafter be* set forth; and that any one refusing to give such bonds should be committed to prison, or be otherwise deprived of his living and forbidden to preach, until he should submit. The proponent concluded with a consideration which it is difficult to appreciate, that "the surplice and hood on all the ministers when publicly officiating would greatly increase their credit and reverence with the people, and daunt the hearts of the Papists"![2] If we wonder at the ascription of so singular a virtue to such things by a Churchman, we cannot wonder that the Puritan abhorred them and said, "These Popish garments are *now* become very idols indeed."[3]

It is gratifying to be able to believe that so monstrous a proposition was not even considered by the Council.[4]

[1] Burleigh to Cecil, March 23d, 1595-6; Wright, II. 457.

[2] Strype's Parker, 458, 459.

[3] Ibid., 435.

[4] Mr. Neal's intimation that it might have been introduced by Lord Burleigh, is hardly generous, and certainly is not sustained by the character of that noble-minded statesman. If Mr. Neal supposed only that it might have been introduced by Burleigh *at the queen's command*, he should have said so. But had this been the case, the proposition would doubtless have had further proceeding, and probably would have been decreed.

The Cossacks ecclesiastic dispersed. They scoured the kingdom; swooping up the suspected, and pinking with the lance every one not a Precisian, to the letter of the law. To try the spirits, whether they were of the faith royal, they vigorously imposed, upon such clergymen as were cited before them for nonconformity, two tests "of their *own devising*."[1] The first was a promise in the form following: "To use the service and Common Prayer Book, and the public form of administration of the sacraments, and no other; to serve in their cures according to the rites, orders, forms, and ceremonies prescribed; and hereafter not to preach *or speak anything tending* to the derogation of the said Book, or any part thereof, remaining authorized by the laws and statutes of the realm."

The other test was a declaration, "That the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and of the ordering of Deacons, set forth in the time of Edward VI., doth contain *all* things necessary for such consecration and ordering, having in it *nothing* that is either *superstitious* or ungodly; and therefore that they which be consecrated and ordered according thereto be duly, orderly, and lawfully ordered and consecrated; and that they" — the subscribers — "do acknowledge their duty and obedience to their ordinary and diocesan, as to a lawful magistrate under the queen's authority, which obedience they do promise according as the laws *shall* bind them to perform."[2]

These forms varied somewhat in the different dioceses; but those most commonly used contained also

[1] Neal, I. 130. Brook, II. 71. [2] Neal, I. 130.

the following clauses, — strange points to be *sworn* to: "I acknowledge that the public preaching of the Word in the Church of England is *sound and sincere;* that the public order of administering of sacraments is *consonant to the Word of God;* and that in the Book of Common Prayer there is *nothing* repugnant to the same."[1] We shall have occasion to notice these clauses and the others hereafter.

Many ministers were found too enlightened and conscientious to subscribe to *all* these points, and to *swear* to them, — both which they were required to do; especially to swear that the preaching of the clergy universally, and the Book of the Church entire, were each as good as the Bible. Such men offered to use the book, and no other, and not to preach against it before the next meeting of Parliament; but as for the subscription and oath, they resented them as against the laws of God, standing upon their rights as Christians, and, as against the laws of the realm, standing upon their rights as Englishmen. On these grounds, they made an appeal to the Archbishop. He rejected it.[2]

The laity were dealt with in like manner. Those who absented themselves from their parish churches to hear non-conforming ministers, were required to subscribe to the last three points noted above, and to these words in addition: "And whereas I have absented myself from my parish church, and have refused to join with the congregation in public prayer and in receiving the sacrament according to the public order laid down, and my duty in that behalf, I am right sorry for it, and pray that this

[1] Neal, I. 130. [2] Ibid.

my fault may be pardoned; and do promise, that from henceforth I will frequent my parish church, and join with the congregation there, as well in prayer as in the administration of the sacraments, according to such order as by public authority is set down and established."[1] Two expedients were contrived to catch this sort of sinners. Spies were stationed in the churches to observe who were absentees, and to report them to the courts for prosecution; and when they were imprisoned, their jailers were charged to report the names of their visitors, that *they* too might be watched, if haply their feet should slide.[2]

Under the ministry of this commission, many clergymen — learned divines and devoted preachers[3] — were deprived of their livings, merely for not subscribing upon oath the papers quoted above; for demanding which *there was no law*.[4] Conscience received no grace at the hands of the Commissioners. The refusers were deprived,[5] and forbidden to preach. If their deprivation may be canonically justified on the ground that they who obey not the rules of any Church forfeit its offices and emoluments, not so the forbidding to preach. It was a barring from livelihood, a decree of beggary to good men, their wives and their children, — to men qualified to preach the Gospel, eager to preach it, needed to preach it. To use the softest word, this was *hard*. It was harder,

[1] Neal, I. 131.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., I. 129.
[4] Ibid., I. 130. Brook, II. 71.
[5] Mr. Neal says (Vol. I. 128), that *three hundred* non-conforming ministers were suspended in the single diocese of Norwich; one of whom, he adds, the good old Bishop wrote, "was godly and learned, and had done much good." He cites Strype's Parker, p. 336. I find that which I have here embraced in quotation marks on p. 452 of the copy of Strype

that some of them were committed to prison;[1] to "filthy jails, more unwholesome than dunghills, more stinking than pig-styes";[2] sometimes "shut up in close rooms, not being allowed the liberty of the prison, where they died like rotten sheep,"[3] and where the fees, added to the cost of prosecution and to the exactions of officers ravenous for gain, half ruined the victims, even if they survived and were cleared of accusation. The Puritan, sometimes at least, was presented in the courts out of sheer malice, committed to prison without examination, and refused a copy of his presentment.[4]

Thus, while the Puritans were pleading even in the royal antechamber, that "the untaught people of England might be gathered into sufficient congregations, and have sufficient and *resident* pastors, that *preaching* pastors might be restored, and Gospel-like

before me. On the previous page it is stated that this man, Moore, "stuck at the wearing of the surplice, because, as he said, he should be offensive to some. But the Bishop told him, it were better to offend a few private persons than to offend God and disobey the prince." Not a word about Mr. Moore's being suspended; although he probably was, for he not only "stuck," but "refused."

But I refer to this passage in Neal chiefly because he says that Mr. Moore was one of *three hundred* in the diocese who were suspended; a statement not here sustained by Strype, whom he cites as his authority. On the contrary, the account shows but very few, thirty-three, to have been dealt with; some of whom gave hope of conforming. Neither, after careful and repeated examination, can I find Mr. Neal sustained, in this particular, by the several references which he makes in the same paragraph. These things throw suspicion upon his startling statement of numbers. For these reasons, I must refrain from adopting it, only sorry to implicate Mr. Neal's accuracy. Possibly, however, he may be justified by some *other* authority.

[1] Brook, I. 36.

[2] Johnson in jail, to Bishop Sandys, Feb. 1574; Brook, I. 180.

[3] Brook, II. 195; under date of 1592, when the jails were at best no better.

[4] Neal, I. 131, note; 132, note.

government instituted,"[1] the Court was more zealous for a coat than for the truth;[2] the commissioners were silencing and imprisoning able and godly men; vacancies were supplied by "outlandish" incumbents who could scarcely read; a sermon in three months, and for the most part not so often, was doled out in lieu of two every Sunday;[3] "the Devil and corrupt patrons" were still shuffling their cards; the people were crying out for lack of the Word, wives and children for lack of bread; hirelings and false accusers were tattling about surplices, conventicles, and Geneva forms,—about who said something against her Majesty's Book of Injunctions, and who against the Book of Common Prayer.[4] It was matter of solemn registry whose shop was open on Christmas, and whose shop was shut; what aldermen went to church in their scarlets, and what ones would not; who ate fish, and who ate flesh.[5] Bishops-men, "flattering to get livings and making the pulpit to be contemned," were preaching amain for the civil exaltation of bishops, and lamenting from the pulpit of Paul's Cross, that "whereas once a good justice durst not offend a hedge-priest, now every broom-man in Kent Street would control them";[6] and court preachers, "waiving Christ and him crucified, were crucifying their brethren, appeaching true men and honest of schism, heresy, and treason, and denouncing some of them by name as wicked men, beasts, and devils."[7]

Some of the commissioners began to loath their

[1] Sampson to Burleigh; Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 177.
[2] Strype's Parker, 395.
[3] Neal, I. 130. Brook, II. 72.
[4] Strype's Parker, 451, 452, 455.
[5] Ibid., 452.
[6] Strype's Annals, IV. 515, 516. Murdin, 271, 272.
[7] Sampson to Burleigh, *ut supra*.

work. "The physicians themselves were sick."[1] Some, however, gloried in their shame; accosting their examinates with coarse jokes; railing at them as "wickedest and most contemptuous"; offending them with profane language; and making sport of their prospective sufferings, as they remanded them to prison.[2]

Such was the zeal of the Precisians about trifles. Such were Church and State when "*pretty* brisk."

[1] Strype's Parker, [447], 456; Cox to Parker.

[2] See the examination of *White*, one who had suffered for the conventicle at Plumbers' Hall; called by the Lord Chief Justice, for fun, "as *black* as the Devil." (Neal, I. 131, note. Brook, I. 145, note.)

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## THINKING.

EDWARD DEERING, A CONFORMING PURITAN, PUNISHED FOR HIS OPINIONS. — BISHOP SANDYS INTERCEDES FOR HIS RESTORATION. — HE IS RESTORED; AND AGAIN SILENCED. — HE IS PUT UNDER INQUISITION FOR WORDS AND THOUGHTS. — HIS LETTER TO BURLEIGH AGAINST THE LORDSHIP OF BISHOPS. — DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BISHOPS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH AND THOSE OF THE ANGLICAN. — MR. DEERING'S ANSWER TO CHARGES FOR WORDS SPOKEN. — HIS REPLY TO INTERROGATORIES FROM THE BISHOPS; AND TO TWENTY ARTICLES PROFOUNDED BY THE LORDS. — THEIR ANTI-DESPOTIC OPINIONS, THE TRUE OFFENCE OF THE PURITANS.

### 1573, 1574.

"You have of late sent unrighteous statutes to Cambridge. You were moved, I think, by the information of the Heads there. . . . . The countenance of men is no good warrant of the truth. If it were, Christ had been crucified for his evil doings. . . . . The Doctors and Heads of Houses have procured you to make these new statutes, to the utter undoing of those who fear God, or to the burdening of their consciences who dare not yield to sin. Therefore I will speak my mind. Whatsoever you think, I will discharge a good conscience. . . . . .

"These Doctors and Heads are either enemies unto God's Gospel, or so faint professors that they do little good in the Church. By one, scarce a Protestant chosen to be Fellow these twelve years;

by another, such curates kept as flee away over the seas; another can hardly be brought to remove Popish books and garments.[1] . . . . . Two others have small constancy in their life or religion. . . . . Dr. Whitgift, whom I have loved, is yet a man, and God hath suffered him to fall into great infirmities. So froward a mind against Mr. Cartwright bewrayeth a conscience that is full of sickness. . . . . It grieveth me, in my very soul, to remember their faults; and you, if you be happy, seek speedily to remedy them. They keep benefices and be non-residents. While they are clothed in scarlet, their flocks perish for cold; and while they fare deliciously, their people are faint with a most miserable hunger. This fault is intolerable, and such as God abhorreth; and your hands are in the strengthening of it, except you reform it. . . . . .

"You that have been brought so easily to hurt God's people, to do pleasure to the Pope, and with so fearful statutes have proceeded to the punishment of so small offences, now make some good statute that may punish sin. And I beseech you, even in the blood of Jesus Christ that hath sanctified his people, send down a new statute, that no Master of a House shall have a benefice except he serve it himself. . . . . .

"If I find no credit, the will of the Lord be done, by whose mercy I am known now both at Cambridge and London, and to some other also in the Court. . . . . If of any great personages, or men of countenance, you have heard me blamed as a vain man, or full of fancies, I will witness this for

[1] Compare Strype's Grindal, 142–145.

myself in the fear of God, — I have never broken the peace of the Church, neither for cap nor surplice, for archbishop nor bishop. If those that should be lights of the world do think me fantastical, these are my fancies: — that I have told them of their common swearing by the name of God in vain;[1] that I have disliked their covetousness; that I have complained of Papists that have not once these twelve years received" — the communion; "that I have said this courtly apparel" — of Church dignitaries — "is not meet for such as should be more sober; that I would not use company, *of delight*, with such as were open persecutors of the Church of God; that it hath grieved me to see a benefice of a great parish given, *from* a spiritual pastor, to a *temporal* man; that for a hundred pounds in gold, the bishop would give his good-will to grant a lease of a benefice, for a hundred years to come, to a gentleman in the country. If these fancies be odious, I am well content to bear their reproach. And most heartily I beseech the living Lord to give unto you also pure eyes, that you may see such enormities. I do wish you well, neither for your gold, nor silver, nor for your great authority because you can give me a living; but because

[1] At first, my confidence in Mr. Strype led me to adopt his statement (Life of Parker, p. 380), that Deering here charges the vice of profane swearing upon the *bishops*. I now deny it; because, — 1. Mr. Deering does not designate bishops, but only *some* persons who, from their position, "should be lights of the world"; and 2. Because, as will be seen a few pages farther on in our narrative, Mr. Deering "loved the *bishops* as brethren, and *honored* them as elders." He could not have had these sentiments towards persons addicted to "common swearing by the name of God in vain." Mr. Strype has inadvertently done Mr. Deering wrong.

you have professed the Gospel, are a magistrate in the commonwealth where Christ is truly preached, and do yet now sustain much hatred of the enemy. Because you are such a one, I desire your prosperity; and God will keep me from this great sin, that I should cease to pray for you."[1]

Thus wrote Edward Deering — one of the "cowards" — in 1570, to Sir William Cecil, Chancellor of Cambridge. Deering was then Lady Margaret Lecturer in the University, and was in the habit of plain speaking even to the highest dignitaries,[2] never mincing words to mollify truth when he thought it his duty to speak. In like manner he wrote again to Cecil, when Lord Burleigh, in 1572; which his Lordship temperately answered, although the letter seemed to him unreasonably sharp.[3] In his sermon before the queen, February 25, 1569, he had had the boldness to say: "If you have sometimes said," — meaning in the days of her sister Mary, — "As a sheep appointed to be slain, take heed you hear not now the prophet as an untamed and unruly heifer."[4] He had been chap-

[1] Strype's Parker, Appendix, pp. 120–122.

[2] Strype's Parker, 380.

[3] Strype's Annals, III. 282–284.

[4] Brook, I. 210, who cites the sermon itself.

"One preacher informed her Majesty, that she had begun her reign with the meekness of a lamb; but she was now an untamed heifer. The story is told by all Puritan writers."—Marsden's Early Puritans, p. 31.

"They," the non-conformists, "became so bold, that one told the queen openly in a sermon, 'she was like an untamed heifer that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline.'"—Izaak Walton's Life of Hooker; Hooker's Works, I. 37.

Such are specimens of the very essential perversions, given by different writers, of the words of Mr. Deering. They are suggestive, gravely so, to the student of history in any of its departments. Brook's

lain to the late Duke of Norfolk, with whom he had been faithful and equally plain-spoken.[1] The letter which we have quoted discloses, not only the character of the writer, but a mournful state of affairs in the Church.

The Archbishop of Canterbury considered Mr. Deering a man of overmuch heat and overlittle solidity,—in a word, of "too much childishness";[2] which opinion we shall hereafter have opportunity to weigh. Contrary to the Primate's judgment, the man was esteemed a great preacher and a great scholar in London and in Cambridge;[3] and, in 1572, had been appointed Reader and Preacher at St. Paul's, where he drew immense auditories.[4]

His Grace did not fail to keep his eye on one who plagued men of countenance about their covetousness and swearing. His sermons were reported at Lambeth Palace, and spies were set to watch him narrowly in private, that they might entangle him in his talk.[5] It was not long before he was brought up before the Privy Council,—between the 18th and the 24th of April, 1573,[6]—about the time when others, as we have mentioned, were summoned to be sifted of their opinions. But he, to answer not only questions, but charges. He had not violated any law of the land. He had not said anything against the queen's supremacy. Although "disaffected to bishops and ceremonies,"[7] he was peaceable

citation of the sermon itself is, therefore, valuable.

[1] Brook, I. 194.

[2] Strype's Parker, 380.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Strype's Annals, III. 282, 398. Brook, I. 194.

[5] Strype's Annals, III. 398. Murdin, 272.

[6] "The 3d of April, Tuesday *was* sevennight"; a date given in the charge. Strype's Parker, 413.

[7] Fuller, Bk. IX. p. 109.

with regard to both. He had not defamed the Book of Common Prayer;[1] but had kept to it, and to the surplice, and to the four-cornered mathematical cap,[2] though he liked them not.

But the man had been *thinking*. Instead of dipping stale theology and crude maxims out of dead men's tanks, he had been going to living fountains. Instead of lazily and stingily retailing to the thirsty what men had sometime distilled, he had been earnestly and lavishly dispensing fresh and living waters, which he himself had drawn from the Word. There was no act of Parliament against this, but there was danger in it, — to Church and State, to Hierarchy and Crown. Besides, he had "drawn away many proselytes. *Therefore* it was thought *convenient*," soon after he came to London, "to silence him from preaching his lecture any more."[3] To effect this, he was charged before the Council with thinking, — with thinking, and telling his thoughts from the pulpit; for he had been heard to say things "which were *interpreted* to reflect upon the magistrate, and *tending* to the breach of the peace of the Church."[4]

One bad thought of his was — bad, for it reflected upon venerable usage — that it was barbarous and unbecoming a Christian country to leave a gibbeted corpse to be flouted by the winds and eaten by unclean birds; another, that Christ's descent into the world of woe was a superstitious error of the fathers; another, that the sufferings of Christ were not only of the body, but of the spirit also; another,

[1] Strype's Annals, III. 415.
[2] Strype's Parker, 380.
[3] Strype's Annals, III. 282.
[4] Ibid., 398.

that believers in Christ reign with him and have no Lord but him, and so were free from "bondage to trifles," — which was *thought* "to free them from earthly magistrates"; another, that a congregation had a right to elect their own minister, — anti-prelatical, certainly; another, that now-a-days gown and cap and tippet were taken as vouchers of honesty and learning and grace, so that, if a man had them, he was thought well enough for a good minister, though he should never come near his benefice nor preach.[1]

These opinions were novelties, and therefore suspicious; they jostled against old notions and usages, and were therefore dangerous. They might bring about a Muncer's Commonwealth, with its anarchy and community of goods.

We have no record of what transpired upon Mr. Deering's appearance before the Council, except that for these sayings he was suspended from preaching.[2]

On the 3d of June, Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, addressed the following letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh; from which it would appear that he was moved so to write because of the commotion in his diocese which the silencing of a preacher so popular had occasioned.

"My singular good Lord:—

"Falling into consideration of such speech as passed from Mr. Deering of late before the Lords of the Council, I evidently see that he upon great simplicity hath cast himself into great danger. A well-advised man would not have made such an unad-

[1] Strype's Parker, 381, 413. [2] Ibid., 413, 426; Annals, III. 398.

vised offer.[1] If it would please your Lordship to procure the consent of the Council, that he might be released thereof, and suffered to read his lecture, so that he only teach sound doctrine, exhort to virtue and dehort from vice, and touching matters of order and policy meddle not with them, but leave them to the magistrate to whom reformation pertaineth, as I think he would yield thereunto, so in my opinion to deliver him from the other," — the offer, — "and to bring him on to this, your Lordship should do that which is fittest for the present time. It would quiet many minds now set on floughter [set a-flutter?]. I see more than I say, and feel more than I complain of. Truly, my Lord, these are dangerous days, full of itching ears, mislying minds, and ready to forget all obedience and duty. I think that a soft plaster is better than a sharp corrosive, to be applied to this sore. Such are the times, if this man be somewhat spared, and yet well schooled, the others, being manifest offenders, may be dealt withal according to their desert. If your Lordship like thereof, and give me commission to deal with him herein, I would gladly do it, not doubting but that it tendeth to good. Thus I take my leave of your good Lordship, commending the same to the good direction of God's Holy Spirit. From my house at Fulham, 3 June, 1573." [2]

[1] What offer? Was it his promise to give a frank statement of his views on certain points? "to set down his mind how far he would yield in anything he should be required?" (Strype's Annals, III. 415. Brook, I. 201.)

[2] Murdin, 255, 256. As I have taken some slight liberties with this letter, for the sake of rendering it as I understand it, I give it also exactly as in the copy before me.

"My singuler good Lord,

"Falling unto Consideration of such Speche as passed from Mr. Deryng of late before the Lordes of the Coun-

Soon after the date of this letter, Mr. Deering was again called before the Council, who questioned him "concerning his allowance of the Book of Common Prayer, and the doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles, to be agreeable to the Word of God; and also concerning the consecration of archbishops and bishops, and some other articles,"[1] — "dangerous ones taken out of Cartwright's Book." This they did to determine the question whether it were best to restore him.[2] In his answers he let it appear that he thought well of Cartwright's principles, and "very ill" of a prelatical establishment. But notwithstanding this, Bishop Sandys succeeded; and at some time before the 6th of July, the Council took off the suspension, and without advising with the Archbishop or with the Commissioners.[3]

sayl, I evydently see that he upon grete Simplycitie hath cast himself into grete Danger; a wel advised man wold not have made such an unadvised Offer; if it wold please your good Lordship to procure the Consent of the Counsayl, that he might be released therof, and suffered to reade his Lecture, so that he only teache sounde Doctryne, exhort to Vertue, and dehort from Vice; and touching maters of Order and Pollecy, medle not with them, but leave them to the Magistrate, to whom Reformation perteyneth, as I thinke he wold yilde theronto; so in my Opynion to delyver hym from the other, and to bryng hym on to this, your Lordshippes shuld do that which is fittest for the present Tyme; yt wold quyet many Myndes nowe set on floughter. I see more than I saye, and feale more than I complayn of. Truly, my Lord, these ar dangerouse Dayes, full of ytching Earys, mislying Myndes, and redy to forget all Obedience and Duetye. I thinke that a soft Plaster is better than a sharpe Corosyve to be applyed to this Sore; such are the Tymes. Yf this man be somwhat spared, and yet well scoled, the other beyng manifest Offendors maye be delt withall according to ther Desertys. Yf your Lordship lyke therof, and gyve me Commysion to deale with hym herin, I wold gladly do it, not doubting but that it tendeth to good. Thus I take my Leave of your good Lordship, commending the same to the good Direction of God's Holy Spyryte. From my house at F. 3. *Junii*, 1573."

[1] Strype's Parker, [452].

[2] Ibid., 426.

[3] Ibid., 426, 433, [452]. Bishop Sandys signed a letter jointly with

But although the Bishop of London had "procured his restoration,"[1] he soon became so dissatisfied with Mr. Deering's preaching, that he repented himself; and resolved upon the "sharp corrosive" of again silencing him, however much the people might be "set on floughter."[2] He therefore com-

Archbishop Parker, dated July 6th, *complaining* of Deering's *restoration*, and of its having been granted, "our advices never required thereunto." (Strype's Parker, 483.) He must have subscribed to this officially only, as a commissioner.

[1] Strype's Parker, 428.

[2] Strype immediately precedes his statement that Mr. Deering was "silenced a second time," with the following: "Between Deering and the Bishop of London, after he had procured him to read his lecture again, there happened some contest. For when Deering came to the Bishop to tell him that the Council had by their letters restored him, . . . . the Bishop desired to see his letters. He answered, they were at home." (Mr. Strype here adds parenthetically, "Indeed, the Council gave him no letters.") "The Bishop said he would see them, or he should not read; and added, that, except he read more soberly and discreetly than he had done, he would forbid him reading in Paul's. Deering replied, 'If you do forbid me, I think that I shall obey, lest some disordered fellows bid you come off your horse when you shall ride down Cheapside,' — boasting of his popularity. But the Bishop in some heat answered, 'Your threatenings shall not terrify me. For I will forthwith ride down Cheapside, to try what your disordered scholars will do.'" (Strype's Parker, 428.)

This narrative lacks the stamp of probability in every feature. The bullying insolence here ascribed to Mr. Deering utterly conflicts with his character, and the retort of the Bishop, with his. One would think the talkers school-boys, not grave and bearded divines.

Besides, the Bishop's words are all as if he were *unwilling* that Mr. Deering should be reinstated in his work, and yet his Lordship had just *volunteered* a special effort to have him reinstated. The whole story is as unaccountable as that Mr. Strype should say "the Council gave him *no* letters," and yet, five pages below, give us the written testimony of the *Bishop himself* of "the Council's letter writ to Deering to restore him." (Strype's Parker, 433.)

I cannot doubt that Mr. Strype throughout this paragraph was mistaken.

That "it was Deering's *custom to lie*, and commonly noted of him," (Strype's Parker, 434,) needs stronger testimony than the naked assertion of the annalist or the Bishop. Why, in so grave a case, should Mr. Strype, deviating from his usual custom, omit to give us in his appendix *that letter* of the Lord Treasurer upon the subject?

We might with more plausibility

plained to the Lord Treasurer and Council, that the Lecturer at Paul's was now *preaching* against the constitution of the Church,[1] and prayed him to procure the queen's order to forbid Mr. Deering to read his lectures any more. The order was obtained, and Mr. Deering was again silenced.[2]

Further process was then instituted against him before the Lords of Council, for words alleged to have been uttered by him at a public dinner on the 11th of December, 1572. He was charged that he had then spoken against godfathers and godmothers; that he had said that the Statute of Provision for the poor was incompetent, and that he could provide for them in two ways, — first, by committing them to the rich to be kept, and second, by doing away with such things as superfluous plate then upon the table; as though he were for "a community of goods." It was further charged against him, that he put off his cap and said, "Now I will prophesy, Matthew Parker is the last Archbishop that ever shall sit in that seat."[3]

There were also twenty other articles of inquisition ministered to him in the Star-Chamber. In these interrogatories, there was not a word about

say that "it was Mr. Strype's *custom to* lie," and then point to his words, "the Council gave him no letters," — disproved by his own record below. We prefer to say, — and it is all we think, — "Mr. Strype was mistaken."

[1] Strype's Parker, 428.

[2] This must have been after the 5th of August; for a letter from the Bishop of Ely of that date supposes Mr. Deering to be still in the exercise of "his former function." — (Strype's Parker, 452.)

[3] Strype's Parker, 413; Annals, III. 414.

After examining all Mr. Strype's pages on this subject, I cannot think him correct (p. 413) in dating the presentation of this last charge in *April*. I therefore suppose it to have been first preferred after Mr. Deering's second suspension.

any omission of duty, or any overt act; not a word about what he had preached, or what he had said in private. They were twenty searching questions about his secret *thoughts;* not his thoughts about the sinfulness of man, or salvation by Christ, or justification by faith which hath works, or heaven, or hell; but his thoughts about the consecration and civil functions of bishops, about every jot and tittle of the Prayer-Book, about the equality of the clergy, about the government, ceremonies, lands, and tithes of the Church, about funeral sermons, and the Communion at marriages, about a prescript form of prayer, about baptizing the children of Papists, the faith of infants, plurality of ecclesiastical livings, the queen's ecclesiastical and civil authority, and such like things.[1]

The bishops also required of him to acknowledge and subscribe the four following articles: — 1. That the Book of Articles agreed upon in the Convocation of 1562–3 was according to the Word of God. 2. That the queen was chief governor, next under Christ, of the Church of England, as well in ecclesiastical as in civil causes. 3. That in the Book of Common Prayer there was nothing evil, or repugnant to the Word of God, but that it might be well used in the Church of England. 4. That the public preaching of the Word of God in the Established Church was sound and sincere; and that the public order in the ministration of the sacraments was consonant to the Word of God.[2]

Mr. Deering was aware that his opinion respecting the lordship, or civil magistracy, of bishops — although he had not vaunted it — was "the main

[1] Strype's Annals, III. 415–417. [2] Ibid.

thing that created him enemies.[1] Therefore, to prepare the way for his answer in the Star-Chamber,[2] he largely expressed his views upon this subject in a letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, on the first of November. After premising that in his very heart he had always honored the magistrate, that in his speech he had never disregarded the peace of the Church, that even the Bishop of London had of late exonerated him of such a pulpit fault, and that it had been determined to silence him only lest he *should* speak offensively, — he frankly and plainly declares: —

"I am persuaded that the lordship, or civil government of bishops, is utterly unlawful." After stating a Scriptural reason for this opinion, he says: "Let Him, therefore, that is King of kings have the preeminency of government. Let Him whose dominion is the kingdom of Heaven have the sword and the sceptre that is *not* fleshly. Let not a vile Pope, in the name of Christ, erect a new kingdom which Christ never knew, — a kingdom of this world which in the ministry the Gospel hath condemned: which kind of rule hath . . . . . mingled together heaven and earth in confusion; so that God's ordinance cannot prevail to deliver the sword into the hand of the magistrate and take the Word into the mouth of the minister. . . . . The Popish prelacy hath shamed the princes, and sometimes raised up such rebellions as have cost their kings both crown and life. Of these examples, a great many; but I remember not one archbishop, or lord bishop, that ever saved a country, or brought peace into it. . . . . The king's minister or pastor

[1] Strype's Annals, III. 400. [2] Ibid., 399.

hath his authority equal over king and subject; but the king's pastor must not execute *civil* punishment against his prince. Therefore the king's pastor can be no civil magistrate. . . . . What power, what authority, will you give unto him? Will you set him upon a seat of justice, and put a sword in his hand? Then bring the prince to plead her cause,—'Guilty,' or 'Not guilty'? Fie upon the Pope, that hath so dishonored God, and made the glory of his judgment sent to be spotted in the countenance of a faint-hearted king! We will be no proctors for such an untimely fruit, that hath made princes bondmen, nobility thraldom, and himself a tyrant. Let us learn a better lesson from our Saviour, Christ,—*Date Cæsari quae sunt Cæsaris, et quae sunt Dei, Deo.* The prince alone is the person in the world to whom God hath committed the seat of justice, and they only to execute the duty of it to whom it is committed. . . . . The minister is appointed for another defence, where horsemen and chariots will do no good. They may hinder the minister, and make him forget his duty: they cannot profit him in his office and function. He must frame the heart, on which you cannot set a crown, and edify the soul, which flesh and blood cannot hurt. He sealeth unto the conscience God's mercies, which are sweeter than life, and maketh rich the thoughts with righteousness and peace which shall abide forever. To those that are disobedient, he pronounceth the judgment that maketh the heart afraid; and to the poor in spirit he bringeth comfort which no tongue can express. And to these things, what availeth sword or spear? God asketh but a tongue that is prepared to speak, and he minis-

tereth the power that is invisible. And cursed be the times that have bewitched to set up dumb dogs in so honorable a place.

"If this function were supplied with dutiful officers, the sword of the Spirit, which God hath given them, would vanquish Satan, and destroy the power of darkness, till the knowledge of God were plentiful upon earth, and all the joys of heart were sealed unto men in perfect beauty; till the eyes did see great happiness in the face of the heavens, and the ear did hear the sweet harmony of the forgiveness of sins; till the meat tasted of that secret manna, of which he should eat forever, and his drink were pure, of the water of life which proceedeth out of the throne of God and of the Lamb; till his garments did smell of the righteousness of Jesus Christ, and in life did shine the life of immortality. But I will not go about to express it in words which the ear cannot hear, nor the tongue speak. I beseech the Lord make you feel the pleasure of it within, till all the world be but dung in respect of Christ. For in Him all honor is a glorious blessing; and without Him, but a covering of an after woe. And when it shall fall in the dust, his sight of the sorrow that is behind shall make the man to mourn when it is too late. If you will know this thoroughly and indeed, procure their liberty which will tell you the truth. . . . .

"But now again to our purpose. . . . . As the minister hath nothing to do with the temporal sword, so much less it becometh him to be *called* a lord. The reason is plain in Scripture."

Here he urges, pertinently and pungently, the various humble appellatives by which ministers are de-

nominated in the New Testament; and also several texts which are direct to his point. He then proceeds: —

"These Scriptures that have been alleged are no vain authorities, that are easily rejected; nor any dark speeches, that are hardly understood. The words are written by the apostles and prophets; and they have the strength of the Spirit of God. They shall sound far and near, and accomplish the work for which they were spoken, though all the world were in arms against them. In vain we cry, 'The State! the State!' and 'The Commonwealth!' when indeed there is no state nor no commonwealth. For the lordship of a bishop hath ever been a plague-sore in the state of a kingdom, and is at this day a swelling wound, full of corruption, in the body of a commonwealth. . . . . And yet, if the state did require *it*, the voice of the lord must be obeyed, though all the kingdoms in the earth did fall before it. God is not a man, that we may control his honor. He hath made both heaven and earth; and when he shall appear, all the creatures of the world shall be moved at his presence, and the children of men shall throw down their crowns. Let us harden our hearts as the adamant stone not to hear his counsel, yet when the force of his word shall knit together again our bones and ashes, that they may arise into eternal life, we shall say then, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' . . . .

"And now, to shut up this long discourse, (which yet, I pray God, it doth not make you weary,) let us a little remember the honor of our Archbishop, which is Jesus Christ. He was born of a poor woman,

in a strange place, and received into an inn, and put forth into a stable, wrapt in coarse clothes, and laid in a manger; persecuted from his swaddling-clothes into strange countries, returning home in fear, and often hiding himself; brought up in the sweat of his brows, and the occupation of his father; mocked with his base parentage, and reproached with the name of beggarly Nazareth; not one of the nobility known to favor him, but a poor company which were basely despised. In all his greatest glory he was laughed to scorn; and the title of his kingdom was set upon a cross of shame. And in this estate doth he not say unto his disciples, 'I have appointed you a kingdom, *as my Father hath appointed unto me'?* (Luke xxii. 29.) And how can you frame out of this pattern, either pope's monarchy or the bishop's kingdoms; either a triple crown so far above princes, or a sumptuous mitre so unmeet for Apostles?

"Surely, my Lord, this gear it will not stand. It is a plant which our Father in heaven never planted; and it will be rooted out. It is of the Pope, and it shall drink of the same cup of confusion; of which the Pope hath begun unto them. And doubt you not, but it is of the Pope. For besides the plainness of the Word of God, it is also printed before your eyes, that you might see the truth, though you would not hear it. For where is this Lordship in the greatest honor, but where the Pope's Holiness is set highest? Where is it abated, but where the Pope's head is broken? And where is it rejected, but where the Pope is trodden under feet? It standeth with the Pope; it reigneth with the Pope; it

falleth with the Pope; it is shamed with the Pope; and is it not of the Pope? . . . . .

"But now I have to answer many thoughts which very easily will rise within you. You will muse first of the state of the primitive Church; and think that Augustine, Ambrose, &c. were all bishops. To this I answer, that if they were, yet men must not prejudice the Word of God. True it is they were bishops; but this is as true, they were no lords, neither agreed with our bishops almost in anything, save only names. 1. The bishops and ministers then were one in degree; now they are divers. 2. There were many bishops in one town. Now there is but one in a whole country. 3. No bishop's authority was more than in one city. Now it is in many shires. 4. The bishops then used no bodily punishments. Now they imprison, fine, &c. 5. Those bishops could not excommunicate, or absolve, of their own authority; now they may. 6. Then, without consent, they could make no ministers. Now they do. 7. They could confirm no children in other parishes. They do now in many shires. 8. Then they had no living of the Church, but only in one congregation. Now they have. 9. Then they had neither officials under them, nor commissioners, nor chancellors. 10. Then they dealt in no civil government, by any established authority. 11. Then they had no right in alienating any parsonage, to give it in lease. 12. Then they had the Church where they served the cure, even as those whom we call now parish priests, although they were metropolitans or archbishops. These diversities they are very great; and if your Honor doubt in any of

them, when it shall please your Honor, we will refuse no conference with whom you will. . . . .

"If you will object against us the bishops of our time, we may answer of them favorably, as before. We know their doings. And our hope is of them, as of members of the Church. *We love them* as brethren, and honor them as elders. And the Lord grant that we have no cause to call back this praise, and dare not give it them. But this I must needs say, and freely confess, *if I were in one of their places, I should not have been so soon persuaded.* We are all men, and born in sin. If one speak against our belly, it hath no ears; or against our back, it hath no eyes. So that we will hardly see or hear a truth. But if the consent of men of our times may help the cause, then I trust it shall help us that all Reformed Churches are of our side; and not one of them is governed by a lord bishop. . . . . You see how bold I have been with your Honor; and I am not ignorant what portion of my life I have committed into your hands. But I have done no more than I would have done to her Majesty herself, if such occasion had been. For I cannot be persuaded to conceal any truth from such a magistrate as feareth God, and hath advanced his Gospel. . . . .

"And I beseech God, in these grievous times, to make me content with a good conscience; and enrich your Honor with such grace, that when you shall think upon him in your bed, and remember him in your night-watches, you may remember the nights of the prophet David, and feel his joy, that is, the God of glory. Amen. *Primo Novem-*

*bris*, 1573. Your Honor's bounden in the Lord Jesu, even as his own,

EDWARD DEERING."[1]

After quoting this *entire*, Mr. Strype says: "I shall make no reflections upon this letter, but leave the reader to observe the zeal of these men against the constitution of the Church, and to weigh the strength of the argument used against the English episcopacy." We cheerfully do likewise; only asking *our* reader to turn back and compare the counter-argument of his Grace of Canterbury.

Concerning the words alleged to have been spoken by him at the public dinner, Mr. Deering presented a paper to the Lords of the Star-Chamber, dated November 26. In this paper, he utterly denied every charge except the last; and sent testimony to the truth of his denial over the signatures of ear-witnesses. Respecting the last, he answered, that he put off no cap and uttered no prophecy. But he admitted that he said what might have been misunderstood as represented in the charge. To what he *did* say, he answered, that he would not excuse it, but would submit it to their Honors' judgment. And because it had been represented that he secretly fancied a community of things, he took the opportunity to say, "as before God, that he held such a community to be but a common confusion, tending to the spoil of God's people and to the utter shame of all his saints; and that this suspicion against him was but a color, for they who most accused him did not themselves think him to be an Anabaptist," or a disciple of Muncer.[2]

[1] Strype's Annals, III. 400–413. Annals, IV. Appendix, 511–516;

[2] The paper is entire in Strype's and in Murdin, pp. 269–272.

On the 16th of December[1] he presented his written reply to the interrogatories propounded to him by the bishops. The second he freely acknowledged.

Under the first, he excepted, that no man might venture his absolute warrant that the consecrations of bishops prescribed in the Articles of the Convocation were equally binding as though a part of the Word of God; or that the Homilies — which men had made — accorded therewith in *all things*. "As far as I know," was all he could subscribe.

Under the third, he excepted, that the name *priest* implied a Popish sacrifice, and a fresh sacrifice in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; that to say on *each day* of Christmas week, "Thou hast given us thy Son *this* day," was an absurd trifling; that to pray, "Grant us that which for our unworthiness we dare not ask," fights against our faith, which is, that we should come, *boldly* and without doubting, to the throne of grace, for what God hath promised; that for these and such other things, he was afraid to vouch *every part* of the Prayer-Book to be according to the Word of God.

Under the fourth article he wrote: "How can I tell that all the preaching in England is sound and sincere, when I hear not all the preachers? And sometimes those whom I do hear preach neither soundly nor sincerely. But this is the fault of man. In the public order for the administration of the sacraments, there is an order how women may baptize; and one for questions and crossings in baptism. How can I approve of these against the judgment of all" — other — "Reformed Churches and learned men?

[1] Strype's Annals, III. 415.

The sacramental bread, too, in the form of a wafer," —which is required by the injunctions,[1] —"some churches cannot tolerate it, and our Parliament hath appointed common bread; what, then, if I dislike the latter? Again, this article and the first, contradict each other; this requiring subscription to all the ceremonies, and the Homilies condemning many of the same. . . . . See, I beseech you, what wrong I sustain, if I be urged to this subscription."[2]

We have here a key to the "stubbornness" of the clergy in submitting rather to deprivation than to Commissioners who required subscription and oath to the same preposterous assertions propounded to Mr. Deering. Others, through stolidity, or self-interest, or indolence, or servility, might take the Book of the Church for another Bible; and her preachers, all, for preachers inspired. But the Puritan would sift before he would warrant; would never exalt litany or order, homily or preacher, to a level with God's Word; would neither swear away his manhood to a queen, nor sell his right to think, for a stipend.

Mr. Deering opened his answer to the *twenty* articles of inquiry, by beseeching the Council to remember that he had never preached against the Book of Common Prayer, but had publicly witnessed his good allowance of it, both by his practice and in his printed book; and adding also, "that if notwithstanding he should be urged now to speak what he thought, whereby he might seem to be *called to a form of inquisition*, as there was no law by which God had tied him of duty *to be his own accuser*, so he besought their Honors to let this his answer rather wit-

[1] Strype's Parker, 309, 453. [2] Brook, I. 199–201.

ness his obedience and humble duty, than be prejudicial to his hurt and hinderance."[1]

In his answers, his sentiments expressed to the bishops were repeated; and so, in a condensed form, were those contained in his letter of November 1st, to the Lord Treasurer. These, and others avowed in the same paper, and alike at variance with Church orthodoxy, must have been anything but satisfactory to those ultra-Precisians in whose hands, chiefly, the ecclesiastical executive was then vested.[2] One particular "confession" in this document claims both our special notice and our *future remembrance*, because it expressed not only his own conviction, but, at *this* time, that of the Puritans almost without exception. "If," said he, "by the question, 'whether there is now any right ministry in the Church of England,' be meant, 'whether there is a right ministration of the doctrine and sacraments,' I humbly confess that

[1] Strype's Annals, III. 417.

[2] From this paper, I extract the following: —

"If, by 'a right ministry in the Church of England,' be meant such as were set apart, as was Matthias by the eleven to supply the place of Judas; or such as are described by Paul, — 'blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behavior, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous, ruling well their own houses, not novices, but having good report of them which are without, and who do not neglect their gifts,' — then I am sure you will confess that the calling required in the Church of England to the ministry is not right. If, by 'a right ministry,' be meant a right *ministration* of the doctrine and sacraments, I humbly confess that no man ought to separate himself from the Church." — Brook, I. 202.

"So far as I have read, the order of God's Word is, that the choice of pastors and other spiritual officers in any particular church or parish hath been by *allowance* of the people. But what is most requisite at the present time, I leave to those whom God hath set in authority." — Brook, I. 203.

"An ordinary" — prescript — "prayer is very necessary, that it may be familiar to the people. But, as every parish will have its occasions and necessities, so it is neces-

*no man ought* to separate himself from the Church;[1] an opinion which, throughout this reign and the next, was retained by the *Presbyterian* Puritans, and kept them in the communion of the Establishment notwithstanding all their sufferings.

We find no further notice of Mr. Deering's officiating as a preacher. In February, 1574–5, Dr. Sampson interceded with the Lord Treasurer that he might be allowed a lecture at Whittington College in London, with its small living of ten pounds a year. But in vain. The Archbishop was relentless, and "utterly refused" the promotion.[2] Mr. Deering died soon after, June 26, 1576.[3]

It was this case which we had in view when stating in a previous chapter, that where Puritanism was suspected, even the cap, and surplice, and peaceful submission to the calling and authority of bishops,

sary that the minister be able to pray in the congregation according to the necessities of the people." — Brook, I. 204.

"For one man to have many parsonages, where he cannot possibly reside, is great wickedness. And seeing Christ hath purchased his Church with his own blood, whosoever enjoys several livings considers very little the words of Paul, — 'Take heed unto all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God.' I therefore humbly beseech your Honors to have this carefully reformed." — Brook, I. 205.

"Princes have full authority over all ecclesiastical and civil *persons*, and equally over both, to punish offenders, and to praise well-doers. Only this is the difference in the sovereignty over both. The commonwealth cannot be without the magistrate; but if all magistrates fall from the Church, we must still hold this article: 'I believe in the Catholic Church.' For Christ, and not the Christian magistrate, is the life and head of the Church. In the commonwealth, the prince maketh and repealeth laws, as appears most for the safety of the state, and the benefit of the people. But in the Church, there is only One Lawgiver, even Jesus Christ." — Brook, I. 205, 206.

[1] Brook, I. 202.

[2] Strype's Parker, 469, 470, 543.

[3] Brook, I. 210.

could not shield from annoyance and persecution. We have not inspected its particulars too minutely; for in every step and feature it was a *lawless* use of might, — a flagrant crime against a MAN. Edward Deering had a right to think. God gave it him. It was his inalienable property. It was his manhood. Nor prelate nor queen could take it away: nor had prelate or queen a right to touch it. They did. They sinned, — against him, — against his Maker. They did so without a shadow of pretence. The man was a conformist. He had used the garments. He had followed the Book. He had honored the magistrate. He had bridled his tongue within the statute. The Commissioners could not even trump up an accusation against him, — as they did soon in another case. The Bishop of London himself had confessed this; and in presence both of the queen's attorney and her solicitor.[1] His persecutors did not even wait to manufacture something pertaining to him into sin by a new statute, made on purpose, and with a retrospective clause. Others had been called to uncover their thoughts; but it was when on arraignment for some act of non-conformity; but this man was arraigned and scourged for his *opinions* ONLY, — his unpublished opinions, his suspected opinions, — for his opinions lest he *should* speak them!

We imprecate the Holy Inquisition of Isabella and Torquemada. Why not, the Holy Inquisition of Elizabeth and Matthew Parker? What did that, more than this? Nothing; except to rack the body. But which is the greater sacrilege? Which is the

[1] Strype's Annals, III. 401.

more sacred endowment, — the frame-work of bone and muscle, of nerves and blood, or the image of God within it? What a comment upon that proclamation, that vaunted proclamation of 1570! What an abandonment of queenly honor! What an exposition of Church *and* State! And yet it was but an opening chapter of that exposition.

In the Puritan annals of Elizabeth's reign, — Puritan in distinction from Catholic, — perhaps this case stands alone; the one atrocious instance of *pure* inquisition, of persistent, brazen persecution, of judgment without pretence or mercy, for *nothing but* opinion. But if it has not its fellow, it has its lesson. It shows that it was not merely obstinacy about "trifles" for which the Puritans were obnoxious; and connivance when trifles were their *only* sins shows it also. It shows that it was not *merely* disregard of statute law for which they were laid on the threshing-floor; and the greater lenity of the powers toward Catholic non-conformists shows it also. It shows that it was not the outward act which bestirred persecution; but the inward thought, the anti-despotic rudiment, of which that act was but the index. It shows how false and unpardonable is the record, that "Queen Elizabeth established no inquisition into men's bosoms."[1] It shows, too, *why* her Majesty would only "suppress the Papistical religion so that it should not *grow*, but would *root out* Puritanism and the favorers thereof."[2]

Fortunately, the sceptre was but gold; the Puritan Idea, iron.

[1] Hume, III. 101, Chap. XL.

[2] The Queen to Malvesier; Strype's Annals, IV. 242.

# CHAPTER XIX.

## THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST PRIMACY.

A Sick Prisoner. — His Crimes against Precisianism. — His Examination. — A Nice Point canvassed. — Railing vs. Scripture. — The Sick Man remanded to Prison. — Dies from Want and Confinement. — The Primate's Severities excite Disgust. — His Vindication of himself. — His Death.

### 1574, 1575.

The Queen's Commissioners Ecclesiastical were assembled in Westminster Hall, on the 20th of February, 1573–4, to execute judgment.

The Gate-House, near by, was where the Bishop of London kept Christian culprits to await their trial, and whither he sent them again to expiate their crimes, when they had been made "clerks convict" by sentence of court.[1]

There were several cases, to be disposed of this day, of honest-minded preachers who had fallen into sin. While the court was pronouncing sentence upon one of them, another, who had just been brought in from prison, stood eagerly bending over the small fire in a corner, and spreading out his hands before it, as though it were *very* grateful. He was pale and thin, with a gaunt, hungry look, and an eye that drooped as if he had resigned himself to suffer. He had been educated at Cambridge, where he was Fellow of King's

[1] Stow's Survey, 176. London, 1842.

College; and had been chaplain, in 1571, to the Lord Keeper Bacon. He had been suspended from the ministry in that year, for refusing subscription to *all* the Articles of Religion of the Convocation of 1562–3; although he was willing to subscribe to the *doctrines*, and used the Book of Common Prayer, and wore the garments prescribed by law.[1] In some way he had obtained license to preach again, and became minister of St. Clement's Church in London. He had soon given offence, and had been thrown into the Gate-House, where he had been wasting away under cold and hunger. There had been a great dearth of provisions during the winter; and, "notwithstanding (thanks be to God!) there had been no want of anie thing to *them that wanted not monie*,"[2] yet Robert Johnson *had* "wanted monie." For forty-nine days and nights he had paced his room, and crept to his pallet, cold, hungry, sickened by foul air and disgusting filth. They were *now* going to find out whether he deserved it,—just as justice treats folks now-a-days. After enduring this four or five weeks, he had contrived means to write to Bishop Sandys, remonstrating against such cruelty. It was a pretty sharp letter; and if *he did* style his Lordship "superintendent of Popish corruptions in the diocese of London,"—which was not proper,—we must make some allowance for flesh and blood, when cold and hungry and sick. "We are in danger of our lives," he wrote on the 2d of February, "in these filthy jails, more unwholesome than dunghills, and more stinking than pig-styes. Take heed, therefore, lest you get your name enrolled amongst the number of persecutors.

[1] Neal, I. 119. [2] Holingshed, IV. 324.

Let not *worldly policy* prevail more than *true divinity*. Let not the Commission draw you farther than God's Word will allow. Let not your palace make you forget the temple of Christ. There is persecution *enough;* and consider, my Lord, the present persecution is among brethren, not only of one nation, but of one profession; the persecutors and the persecuted believing in one God, professing one Christ, embracing one religion, receiving one Gospel, communicating in one sacrament, and having one hope of salvation. You say you are our chief pastor; we desire food. You say you are our doctor; we desire to be taught. This is the best way to win us, and the best for you to use. The Fleet, the Gate-House, the White-Lion, the King's Bench, and Newgate, are weak arguments to convince the conscience.[1]

But such appeals had weighed nothing against the code of "worldly policy." They were empty wind in the ear of a Church Precisian. The prisoner had remained shivering in his cell, and was now brought shivering to the hall of judgment. He had hardly gathered a little warmth to his skinny hands, when he heard his name called to answer. He coughed as he turned around, — a quick, husky cough; the eyes, which had drooped, were strangely bright; there came a flush upon his cheek; and he stood erect while he heard his indictment. Marrying without the ring; baptizing without making the sign of the cross; a misdemeanor in administering the sacrament, — the same done in contempt of the queen and her laws, and against the peace of the realm; — these were his accusations!

[1] Brook, I. 180, 181.

"If it please your Honors," moving a step or two in front of the Lord Chief Justice, "may I not submit myself, and declare the truth of things as they were done."

His Lordship assented.

"I stand here indicted on three points. In respect to the *contempt*, I plead *not guilty*. To the last of those charges, I answer under my protestation, that at *no time*, in celebrating the Communion, have I omitted *any prayer or words of the institution* which the book prescribeth. Upon one occasion, the wine failed; I sent for more; I delivered this to the people, using the words appointed for the *delivery*, but not using the *words of the institution*, which I had already used at the beginning of the ordinance. These I omitted; partly because the words at first delivered were sufficient, — it being an entire action and one Supper, — and partly because, in the Book of Common Prayer, *there is no order appointed* to which I could refer the case.

"Once or twice, I have omitted to use the ring in solemnizing marriage; but upon reproof from my ordinary, I have corrected this my default.

"I have also omitted to make the sign of the cross in baptism, but not of contempt. But seeing that I have already suffered seven weeks in prison, with the loss of my place and my living, I beseech you judge impartially whether this be not sufficient for so small a crime."

"You were not sent to prison for *that*," observed one of the Commissioners, "but for your irreverent behavior."

"I trust, sir, I did not behave myself more irrev-

erently at the time of my commitment, than I do now. I object to the indictment upon this charge; which is, that in baptism I omitted the prayer, 'We receive this child,' &c. I have *never* omitted it, though I have omitted the sign of the cross."

"These two matters of the cross and the ring are *but trifles*," said the Bishop of London. "The chief is the consecration of the Sacrament. As it had not the word, it was no sacrament, and so the people were mocked," — a statement which surely savored of popular superstition; capable of none other meaning than that *virtue* was imparted to the elements by a form of words.

"I do not say," replied Mr. Johnson, that the word is of *no* force. That it is necessary to the substance" — substantiality, reality — "of the Sacrament, we both agree. But *herein* is the controversy, — whether it be necessary for the institution *to be repeated*, seeing it is but one and the same action, and the same communicants as before for whom the words are spoken. If it had not been the same supper, or if the communicants had been changed, it would have been necessary to rehearse the institution."

"You like yourself very well," the Bishop replied; "and you are stubborn and arrogant. I have before heard of your stubborn heart, but now I perceive it. You — unlearned — stand stubbornly against us all; and so no learning will satisfy you." A singular reply, certainly, to a rational statement.

"You confess," said the Commissioner who had spoken before, "that when the words of the institution were recited, you had no wine."

"I do not. I had both bread and wine."

"But you had not *that* wine."

"No."

"Therefore it was not consecrated."

"The words before repeated were sufficient."

"Then with those words you consecrated all the wine in the tavern," said the Dean of Westminster.

"No, sir; it was the wine that was brought from the tavern to the church, and of a common wine was appointed to be a sacramental wine to represent Christ's blood, — and *this* is consecration."

"Why! then with you the word is of no force!"

"It is not of force to bring any holiness to the Sacrament. I trust you do not think that the word maketh the bread any holier when used in the Sacrament."

"Yes," said one of the judges, "it is holy bread."

"A holy sacrament," said the Bishop, discreetly.

"That I confess," answered Mr. Johnson. "But holiness is in the use and end, not in the substance. Otherwise you make a magical enchantment of it, not a consecration."

"If thou wert well served, thou wouldst be used like a magician," — was the only answer to *this* point.

"Whatever your judgment, I stand or fall to my own Lord."

"You know not what harm you have done," remonstrated the Bishop of London with solemnity, "by defending an error before this company; bringing them so into doubt that they know not which way to take"; — an indiscreet admission that there was "force" in Mr. Johnson's "words," upon a common as well as upon a sacramental occasion.

"My Lord, I defend no error."

"Nay," exclaimed the Dean of Westminster, "you maintain *a horrible heresy*."

"If you were well served," said another Commissioner, following the clew which the Dean had given, "*you should fry a fagot*."

"I pray you, my Lord of London," asked Mr. Johnson, "must consecration be performed before the delivery of the elements, or after?"

"I will not answer."

"It is only a question; I pray you answer it."

"Answer it thyself."

"It shall be answered," interposed the Dean incautiously. "The consecration must go before; for Christ gave a sacrament, which could not be without the word. Consecration, therefore, must go before."

"But Christ spake the word *after* the distribution. He first gave the bread, and *then* said, 'Take, eat; this is my body.'"

"And what then?"

"Then, according to what you say, Christ did not consecrate aright."

By this citation of Christ's act, the whole charge against the prisoner, of not using the word *before* distribution, was virtually quashed. But the Dean rallied, and adroitly neutralized the defence, as men stronger in power than in wits, justice, or Scripture always can, when pushed to the wall.

"You defend a horrible heresy; for you reject the word."

It is painful to read this record. Ministers of Christ calling a brother minister to a stern reckoning for a casualty in his ministration! Dignitaries

of the Church flinging supercilious insults in the face of sober reasoning! It is painful also to see how God's "most glorious ministration of the *Spirit*" may be wrested to the service of the *flesh*, — how it may be sullied and emasculated by exalting the ceremonials of worship. "Hunting on the Sabbath is sin," says the Jewish Talmud; "therefore catching a flea on that day is sin, because it is a kind of hunting." Such is Pharisaism, strenuous for forms! and to such whimsical, yet profane extravagancies, does ceremonial righteousness tend!

After a little more dialogue, the Lord Chief Justice peremptorily interfered, by saying: "Let us make an end of this. Charge the jury."

Upon the testimony of witnesses, of whom some were known Papists, and others had done penance for the foulest crimes, Mr. Johnson was summarily found guilty, and condemned to a year's imprisonment. His chief offence, be it remembered, was not non-conformity, for there was no prescript for such a case in the book; but an incident for the propriety or impropriety of which there was no authority whatever. He certainly had not gone contrary, in this affair of the Sacrament, to 1 Eliz. Cap. II. Sec. II.; nor can I find that he had to any other.

Want! want! want! how it shrivels the body, and the spirit! How it makes the strong man totter, and the stout-hearted whine! Mate Friendlessness with Want, and how they cling to their victim like vampires, — fix their fangs just where he is *most* sensitive, and thence suck up his life by drops! And when wrong comes too, — unprovoked, thrusting its

lancinating sting along every nerve, — with all upon him at once, how long can a man live? and how much of him will be left *to* die, when he dies? Such a trinity will make Stoicism shriek, and writhe, and die before the Stoic. Well, one kind of man is secure against Friendlessness at least; so that, if Want *do* strip him, and Wrong *do* stab him, and priest and Levite *do* avoid and mock him in the day of his calamity, the good Samaritan finds him. In the thoroughfare, where scorn and hunger and blank-faced forgetfulness it is hardest to endure; in the wilderness, where the wild-flower mocks his pallor, and the singing-bird his grief; in the dungeon, where the rumble of a busy world derides his desolation; — anywhere, however conditioned, he who cleaveth closer than a brother is his minister. The canker of treachery will eat, and tears flow, and flesh waste, and blood curdle, and the outer man perish. But the inner man is renewed day by day; for to the inner ear there is a present voice, and to the inner eye a present smile. The sufferer has fellowship there in his solitude, sympathy in his desolation, consolation in his sorrow, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. The Christian *man* suffers and dies under his oppression; the Christian *spirit* is ministered to, disrobed, transfigured.

*This* poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him out of all his troubles. He went from his judgment to his prison, his poverty, and his stinted food. The slight cough became deep and rigid, the filth nauseating, the foul air fouler and more suffocating. He grew paler and weaker. On the

7th of March, he traced a few lines to the Bishop of London, praying "that he might feel some of his charitable relief to preserve him from dying under this hard usage; that pity might requite spite, and mercy recompense malice." At the same time, he wrote, or indited, a petition to the Queen and Council. On the 19th, the Council sent the petition to Archbishop Parker and Bishop Sandys, with a letter from themselves "*pressing* these prelates to take the case into consideration, and to take such order therein as should appear to be most convenient." It appeared to them most convenient to take *no* order. After a while — weary weeks, to a sick man in a loathsome jail — the Council in some way heard of him again, "that he was *very* sick, and likely to die unless he might enjoy air more open." They therefore wrote again on the 16th of May to the Bishop of London, "commanding him to give order for the poor afflicted man to be bailed; and, upon sureties, to be removed to his own house, to be in ward there." But being lord in the precincts, whether the Council did will it or nill it, Edwin Sandys could do as he chose. Perhaps he reasoned from "worldly policy"; perhaps he wrested "true divinity"; perhaps he thought that the "stubborn heart," the "horrible heretic," had forfeited mercy; perhaps it was not "convenient to give order." But whatever his reasonings or his reasons, he was deaf to the order from the Court, and to the cry from the prison. Robert Johnson should have counted the cost! So he was left to the tender mercies of a sordid jailer and an empty purse, — to the malaria of filth and the consumption of disease. And now, as life faded, Life brightened.

The Comforter invisible gave him inspiring glimpses of the promised rest; so that he grew more serene and more cheerful there on his matted straw, till one day in May he fell asleep.[1] I wonder how Robert Johnson and Edwin Sandys *met* — in heaven.

About this time — and doubtless not for the first time — her Majesty told Archbishop Parker that "he had supreme government ecclesiastical, and so she committed the chief inspection of the Church to him";[2] by which she unquestionably meant, that upon his vigilance devolved chiefly the execution of law upon all ecclesiastical offenders. But, a few months after the events just narrated, he complained, "I may not work against Precisians and Puritans, though the laws be against them; know one, know all." He complained, that "he found her Majesty to be almost the only one" — at Court — "who was constant in being offended with Puritans"; that "his government was cumbered with subtilties"; that "divers of his brethren, the bishops, had deserted him, — some of whom were working secretly against him"; that "there was a policy on foot to work overthwartly against the queen's religion stablished by law and injunction, of which policy he would not be partaker." Under these circumstances he began to withdraw from "the business of metropolitan and of chief overseer of the Church," seldom appearing at the Court or even sending letters thither. The reason of this seems to have been, that "it irked him sorely to see that he could not do that good service" — according to his way of thinking —

[1] Brook, I. 176–188. Pierce, 83. [2] Strype's Parker, 542.

"for God and the Church that his high place required of him"; or, in his own words, "I toy out my time partly with copying of books, partly in devising ordinances for scholars to help the ministry, partly in genealogies, &c. *For* I have little help where I thought to have had most. And thus, till Almighty God cometh, I repose myself in patience."[1]

Thus it appears from his own pen, that the severe policy of the chief executive in the Church had not only excited the loud and bitter complaints of the sufferers, but had given disgust to Churchmen, and even to some of the prelates. One of these was probably Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, whom the Archbishop charged with too much lenity, and with disliking his government. "What I am, and what my doings are," said Parkhurst in reply, "cannot be hidden. This I find by good proof, that the rough and austere manner of ruling doth the least good; and, on the other part, the contrary hath and doth daily reclaim and win divers. And therefore do I choose rather to continue my accustomed and natural form and manner, which I know how it hath and doth work, than with others by rigor and extremity to overrule."[2]

The overthwarting policy which so sorely irked his Grace, is easily explained. The Lords of Council had heard of the death of Johnson. They began to hear of another, and another, and still another, who also fell victims to squalor and disease.[3] Petition

[1] Strype's Parker, 478, compared with Parker's letters to Burleigh, Appendix, Nos. XCV., XCIX.

[2] Strype's Annals, III. 509.

[3] Brook, I. 36. In a case like this, Brook ought to have given his authority; but he does not. I cannot suppose, however, that he would make so serious a statement without book.

after petition was laid upon the Council table from others, who had long been kept waiting, and who were still waiting, for their trials in prison, smitten with sickness, and like to die. Their Lordships, beginning to think, it would seem, that the cries which came up to their chamber might also go up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, remonstrated with his Grace and the Commissioners jointly. They wrote that any *lawful* proceedings against non-conformists, they would countenance and aid; but that they would not be implicated in such unreasonable imprisonment. At the same time, they desired the Commissioners to dispose of such cases, in future, with decent despatch; and that two sufferers, in particular, if so sick that they could not remain in prison without inconvenience, should be liberated on bail until they could be tried. This missive was unavailing. Again, therefore, they addressed the Commissioners. They also wrote to the Archbishop himself, stating that it was her Majesty's pleasure that Bonham and Standen — the two referred to — should be set free, and without trial.[1]

For the credit of her Majesty, for the credit of her Council, for the credit of the Anglican Church and of humanity, we rejoice to record this interference. But what shall we say of the "unlawful" severities — to use the mildest term — which made it necessary? What shall we say of the apathy — again to use the mildest word — which made its *repetition* necessary? And what shall we think of the Primate who would rather toy away his time than strive that mercy might rejoice against judgment? Was

[1] Brook, I. 176; from Baker's MS. Collec., Vol. XXI. p. 384.

he vindictive, or was he weak? Is it charity, or is it filial partiality, or is it sectarian blindness, which writes that "*his* career was distinguished by patience and benignity"?[1]

But "the most severe disciplinarian of Elizabeth's first hierarchy"[2] has left on record his own vindication. It is fair to suppose it the best which could be made; and therefore it should neither be suppressed nor forgotten. It consists of three points: "1. The vehement words of the Statute of Uniformity (before he was placed), by which archbishops and bishops are charged to execute the same, as they would answer before God;[3] 2. that he did enforce a religion which he knew in conscience to be good, and which was confirmed by public authority; and 3. that, in enforcing this religion, he did but do the queen's commandment."[4]

[1] Lodge's Portraits, II. No. 17. London, 1840.

It may be true, as this same writer says, that "the raising him without intermediate steps to the exalted dignity which awaited him, was the result of Elizabeth's judgment of his character"; but it should be remembered, that he was the *third* to whom she offered the dignity, and the first who would accept it.

[2] Hallam, 110, note.

[3] The following is the statute. (1 Eliz. Cap. II. Sec. IV.) "For due execution hereof, the queen's most excellent Majesty, the Lords Temporal, and all the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do in God's name earnestly require and charge all the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavor themselves to the uttermost of their knowledges, that the due and true execution hereof may be had throughout their dioceses and charges, as they will answer before God for such evils and plagues wherewith Almighty God may justly punish his people for neglecting this good and wholesome law."

The Archbishop seems obtusely to have considered this charge to have had the binding nature of an oath, or as something very like it; instead of being an injunction, or adjuration, *so* to execute the act that they could *answer before God* for their behavior, and for just plagues.

[4] Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 181; Parker to Burleigh.

We will not stop to ask whether the Archbishop ever stimulated the queen's choler, or *prompted* her "commandment," or slighted her interposition for mercy; nor whether it was the *religion* which he knew to be good, or the "ornaments" of that religion, which he enforced; nor whether he *did so* "execute the statute *as* he would answer before God." What is the purport of the plea itself? That he had, of his own free will, committed himself, not only as the rigid executive of a statute written and known, but as the executive of royal commands unwritten and unknown. That, of his own free will, he had bound himself, not only to exclude from the offices and emoluments of the Church those who should not conform to its rules and uphold its polity, but even to punish them beyond the statute, when the queen's policy might be furthered thereby. That he had pledged himself, not only to sequester and punish, but to punish every Englishman for preaching Christ in England, unless he wore a livery, ministered by a Book, and prayed by rote. To all this Archbishop Parker had deliberately bound himself. Whitehead and Wotton would not.[1]

We have before spoken of the right of a Church to depose from its offices the violators of its rules; and of the right of a civil government to punish disobedience of its laws. But under the administration of this Primate, uniformity was enforced, not only by the penalties prescribed by statute, but by arbitrary penalties, and for refusing arbitrary requirements,—written neither in the Act of Uniformity nor in the Act 13 Eliz. Cap. XII. This was going beyond the

[1] See *ante*, p. 178, note 1.

"vehement words." It was being overmuch righteous, or overmuch wicked. His Grace of Canterbury devised the scheme, and sustained it, even without the royal sanction.[1] Parkhurst and Pilkington, Hutton and Grindal, — some would not equal, none would go *beyond* command.

In comparison with these men, Dr. Parker was intellectually weak. He was weak enough to write that plea for entitling bishops "Lords." He was weak enough to plead his mistress's order as decisive justification of his acts, — weak enough not to see dishonesty in the forced construction of a statute. He was weak enough to think Puritanism agrarianism, and the Puritan a Muncer; to be bereft of senses by a bugbear plot; and to fancy himself, as the representative of his order, a chief pillar of the throne. He was weak enough not to suspect that oppression might make a wise man mad, and force loyalty itself to revolution. And what was it but weakness, and the consciousness of weakness, which made him always assign to others the championship of the Ecclesiastical Establishment, when he should have entered the lists himself? In all these things we see signs of a weak and misty mind, and in this natural infirmity, rather than in a depraved moral sense, we are content to find the only excuse for his *illegal* severities. They were terminated by his death, at the age of seventy-two years, on the 7th of May, 1575.[2]

[1] Strype's Parker, 322.

[2] Holingshed, IV. 327. Strype's Parker, 494.

Archbishop Parker's letters, particularly the last two which we have, show that he was far from being a clear-headed man. These two were written, to be sure, when he was sick; but his biographer assures us, that, to the last, "he was

With all her faults, the Reformed Church of England has been stouter, nobler, larger-hearted, larger-handed, has nourished more Christ-like men and more Christian colonies, than any other division of the

of a vigorous and perfect mind and memory." (p. 494.) Sandys complained to Parker, in a letter dated October, 1560, "I am *often* put to a doubtful interpretation by reason of your sundry dark sentences hard to scan forth." (Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 25.)

A few instances are sufficient to show how and why he shrunk from effort in the field of religious polemics. When the Bishop of Aquila, the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of Elizabeth, "a bold, pragmatical man, and a great zealot for the Pope and his religion," sent to Dr. Parker through Sir William Cecil, then Secretary of State, a sort of challenge to a private passage-at-arms about religion, the Archbishop declined it, though he offered to substitute, what was not asked, suggested, or wished, a written controversy. For thus declining, he pleaded with Cecil, that "what with passing those hard years of Mary's reign in obscurity, without all conference," i. e. any practice in disputation, "or such manner of study as might now do me service, and what with my natural vitiosity of overmuch shamefacedness, I am so abashed in myself, that I cannot raise up my heart and stomach to utter in talk with other, which (as I may say) with my pen I can express indifferently, without great difficulty. Whereupon this is to require" — pray — "you, for all love, to help me to shadow my cowardice, . . . . and to decline from me such opportunities, wherein I should work a lack to my promoters and a shame to myself. For the ordering, overseeing, and compassing common matters ecclesiastical, in synod, or out thereof, among mine acquainted familiar brethren, I doubt not but, with God's grace and help of counsel, . . . . there my stomach will stand by me. . . . . But if ye drive me out of *this* course, . . . . ye shall drive me utterly out of conceit; and then I can do nothing." (Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 199.)

Strype is apprehensive that this letter may be construed as "betraying the Archbishop's *weakness*"; but like a good biographer, *he* thinks it "rather shows his prudence and great modesty." (p. 526.) Why, then, did his Grace withhold his signature; and even close his letter by saying, "I pray you, lay not this aside, but rather burn it, read or unread, at your pleasure"? (Appendix, p. 200.) Cecil *did* "lay it aside," and here are we, treating it very irreverently, three hundred years after!

But the Archbishop also held back from meeting in his own person the controversial necessities of that Church of which he was, by office, the proper champion; not even venturing to use that *pen* with which he said he could express himself tolerably well, without great difficulty. When Sanders, a Cath-

Church Militant since the sword of the Spirit was unsheathed against the Man of sin. When she first planted her foot successfully to do battle with her spiritual foes, as solitarily, as sturdily, and as long

olic writer, attacked the monarchy and Church of England, and when Lord Burleigh insisted with the Archbishop that the book ought to be answered, his Grace assigned the task to others. (Strype's Parker, 379 – 383.)

He also held back from meeting in like manner even his "acquainted familiar brethren." When the Puritans published a book in behalf of their way of discipline, a book which it was necessary to answer, this task also he committed to others. (Ibid., 480.) Even when, as he conceived, a grand assault was made upon the very pillars of the Church and of the throne, by the Admonition to Parliament, — when he apprehended that, if it was not counteracted, anarchy would be in the ascendant, — he declined a task by no means derogatory to his high office, and, as we have seen, employed Whitgift's "pen" instead of his own.

In these cases, he could not plead the multifarious and pressing duties of his archiepiscopate; for during the whole term of his office he had large leisure for his favorite pastime of antiquarian researches and writings.

Strype insists that Parker was a man of "stomach." (p. 524.) For no better reasons, that I can find, than these: that he sometimes disagreed with her Majesty; that he *said* "he cared not for the great Earl of Leicester"; that he *said* he cared not three points for the Puritans' shooting at the bishops," (Strype's Parker, Appendix, 181,) "nor three chips for what Dr. Chaderton"— Chatterer, he called him — "said about him." (Ibid., 474.) On the other hand, he had that perpetual, nervous fear of evil which does not belong to minds of a manly order. He was constantly apprehensive that himself and Burleigh, the hierarchy, the nobility, the throne, were in a common peril; like the petty constable, who fancied every attempt to shake *him* an attempt to shake the commonwealth. A sham plot was set on foot, pretended to be a conspiracy of the Puritans to murder "himself, the Lord Treasurer, and other eminent personages." The object seems to have been, to scare his Grace, which was effectually done. In his fright, he wrote to Burleigh, "This horrible conspiracy hath so astonied me, that my will, my memory, are quite gone." (Strype's Parker, 465.) The definition of a *Puritan*, recorded by Sir John Harrington, "a Protestant scared out of his wits," is thus proved to be false. (Nugæ Antiquæ, II. 21.)

With these facts in view, together with his Grace's argument for the lordship of bishops, the reader can measure for himself the intellectual calibre of Archbishop Parker.

It is noticeable, that in the publications of the Parker Society we have no volume of "Remains of

as her islet sanctuary has with the untiring sea, God placed Matthew Parker at her van. The weak things of the world hath God chosen to confound the things that are mighty; and they are to be honored for their honor, not despised for their weakness, or pecked at for their faults. If, then, for his election of God only, we write his name with respect, but write no praise of the man, do we therefore wrong? Do we sin, in that we scrutinize and unveil his weakness? Rather, do we not herein magnify the power and grace of Him who chose to sustain, under such a primate, a Church destined to so glorious a history? Nor shall we sin, if we doubt whether — with the same modicum of endowments, in the same high position, under the same unnatural and perplexing combination of Church and State, under the same mistress, and in the same uncertain twilight — we should have done better. That we ought and might, there can be no question.

The close of this prelate's life brings us to a point where we naturally pause, to review the ground over

Archbishop Parker," other than ordinary letters.

I cannot refrain from here adding what might more fitly have been introduced elsewhere, the remarkable words of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, king of Italy at the close of the fifth century, in a letter to the Emperor Justin, — words so nobly in contrast with the policy of Queen Elizabeth: —

"To pretend to a dominion over the conscience, is to usurp the prerogative of God. By the nature of things, the power of sovereigns is confined to external government. They have no right of punishment but over those who disturb the public peace, of which they are the guardians. The most dangerous heresy is that of a sovereign who separates from himself a part of his subjects, because they believe not according to his belief."

Milman's note to p. 16, Vol. III. of Gibbon's Decline and Fall (8vo edit., New York, 1847).

which we have passed, before entering upon the exciting and even tragic scenes which are before us.

We have noted the small beginning of Puritanism, and thence have traced its progress and growth until its features were well defined, its form developed, and its several positions, offensive and defensive, were avowed and recognized. At first but little more than a religious scruple, it soon became a fixed principle, — an uncompromising antagonism to Popery, based upon clear and Scriptural convictions. This principle, under the pressure of *compulsion*, brought into action, not indeed any well-defined doctrine of natural right, but that latent consciousness of it which spiritual despotism had smothered for centuries, and which so inheres in every man that savage wrong will sometimes rouse it to resistance even in the most abject slave. The religious principle, sustained and stimulated by this awakened instinct, soon expanded into a political one. It went out from the vestry and the chancel to the Parliament-House and the Council Board; and thus Puritanism became the personification — and the only one — of religious and civil liberty, — of liberty questioning, confronting, withstanding, the lordship of the hierarchy and the wanton despotism of the crown. In 1575, it was no longer a whim to be despised, or a naughtiness to be whipped, but a doctrine to be feared, a heresy to be rooted out. The State had girded up its loins and put on its harness to do battle with the Puritan.

*Had* he made all this ado only for the sake of trifles? In 1550, it was charged that he did. It was so charged during Elizabeth's reign. It has

been so charged without cessation for three hundred years, until the eye is tired of reading, and the ear of hearing. We will not argue the point. Nor will we repeat what we have said about it in a previous chapter. Let us simply look at it with the eye of common sense, and in the light of facts already recited.

When the discipline of the Queen's Commissioners became rank; when their appliances became "sharp corrosives"; when they overstepped the statutes; when they demanded a subscription and a promise not authorized by the Act of Uniformity, or by the act to reform disorders touching ministers of the Church, or by any other act, either of heaven above or of the earth beneath; when they punished, not for nonconformity, but for non-subscription, and without authority of Parliament, or queen, or God; when they ransacked thoughts and scourged opinions; when they required men to take oath that the preaching of the Word in the Church of England was sound and sincere, that her order of administering the Sacraments was consonant to the Word of God, and that there was nothing repugnant to that Word in her Book of Common Prayer; — were these things trifles? Can we, with any pretence of reason, call him a contemptible stickler for trifles, who, in such a case, resented illegal punishment, refused illegal requisitions, and preferred disobedience to perjury?

"But these things are not in point."

Nevertheless, they are facts, — burning, damning, — and not to be forgotten.

"They were *consequences* of obstinacy about trifles."

*Sequences*, — granted.

"The root of the matter, the beginning of the contention, was about trifles."

By no means. Look back. When Elizabeth came to the throne, her political horizon was different from that of her brother Edward. The Papal See was ravenous for domination in England. A devotee of Rome was next heir to the crown, and Romish princes, with fleets and armies, were eager to place it on her head. Under these circumstances, the Catholic element in Elizabeth's realm was a dangerous one. To conciliate her Catholic subjects, was, therefore, a fundamental maxim of her policy. It was of the first *political* importance to reduce, as far as possible, the visible differences between the Church of England and the Romish. Elizabeth therefore *reversed* the policy of her brother, which had been to recede by little and little, but still to recede, from all resemblance to Rome. She adopted such "ornaments of religion" as he had ordained by his first book, because those ordained by his second were not Papistical enough. She strove, until she found it impracticable, to fix celibacy upon her clergy, because otherwise they would not be Papistical enough.[1] She kept the crucifix and other symbols in her private chapel, lest she herself should not seem Papistical enough. All this complaisance to Rome, all this retaining of Papistical features in the national Church, — the cap, the tippet, the surplice, the sign of the cross, kneeling at the sacramental supper, and a form of administering it which should not contradict the doctrine of the corporal presence, — all and

[1] Strype's Parker, 107, 109, Appendix, No. XVII. p. 30.

each were of vital importance to her policy. Should they be uniformly adopted and sustained throughout the realm, there would be little, if anything, in whatever would strike the eye or the ear of the Catholic, to offend his prejudices.

In other words, Elizabeth, far from considering these externals of dress and ceremony trifling, esteemed them of great political importance; of political importance, because they had religious influence, because they were Romish, consorted with Romish dogmas, gratified Romish habits, and fostered Romish superstition. Hence it was, and hence only, that from the moment she felt her throne to be firm, she became strenuous that these Papistical features of her Ecclesiastical Establishment should not be suffered to relax, "that none should be suffered to decline, either on the left hand or on the right hand, from the direct line limited by authority of her laws and injunctions"; and hence it was, that when her religious ordinances were approached, she was ever quick to rouse her prerogative of supremacy, and ever hot, imperious, and choleric in using it.

In her eyes, the rites, the ceremonies, the vestments of her Church had not *acquired* importance because ordained by law; but were ordained by law because they *had* importance, — because they had a specific character and a specific gravity.

Upon these two points, then, *the queen and the Puritan were agreed;* viz. that the things ordained had an important influence, and that this influence was Papistical. Each recognized a Papistical likeness — and so did the Papist — in the rites, and in the constitution also, of the English Church. Each regarded

it as of fundamental importance; the one, to the Crown and Church of England; the other, to the Crown and Church of Christ. Upon this estimate of cap and surplice did the State covertly rely to justify its pertinacity. Upon the same did the Puritan openly rely to justify his. In regard to these matters, they differed only as the policy of the world differs from the policy of the Gospel. The one was right, religiously; the other, as the world goes, politically. In the opinion of *each*, the things about which they contended were *worth* contending for; they were anything under heaven *but* trifles. The cap was more than woollen. The surplice was more than linen. The Puritan was fantastical, and a stickler for trifles, just as much as Queen Elizabeth, and no more.

Calling a man a Nazarene does not make him one. He may have been born in Bethlehem.

END OF VOL. I.

D672.41

6781 1